APRIL 1971

MONTHLY REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

VOLUME 22

11

HOSPITALS IN CHINA

JOSHUA S. HORN

ECONOMIC STAGNATION AND STAGNATION OF ECONOMICS

THE EDITORS

Socialism and Democracy in Czechoslovakia

KYN—SHERMAN—PAGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS | VOLUME XXII | NUMBER 11 | APRIL 1971

REVIEW OF THE MONTH:
Economic Stagnation and Stagnation of Economics by the Editors 1
HOSPITALS IN CHINA by Joshua S. Horn 12
ON THE TEACHING OF MARXIAN ECONOMICS
by Paul M. Sweezy 31
SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA
by Oldrich Kyn and Howard Sherman 34
REPLY TO KYN AND SHERMAN by Benjamin B. Page 43
BOOKS: From Wobblies to CIO by Harvey O'Connor 47
The Press and the Cold War by Alexander L. Crosby 52
WORLD EVENTS by Scott Nearing 56
CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXII 62

MONTHLY REVIEW: Published monthly except July and August, when bimonthly, and copyright © 1971, by Monthly Review, Inc. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS: USA: 116 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. 10011.
Telephone: (212) 691-2555.
Europe: Frances Kelly, 9 King Edward Mansions, 629 Fulham Road, London, S.W. 6., Telephone: Renown 8824.
MR Edizione Italiana, Viale Mazzini 4, Roma 00195, Telephone: 383112.

Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

NEWSSTAND DISTRIBUTOR: B. De Boer, 188 High Street, Nutley, N. J.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: One year—$7 in the U.S.; $8 foreign.
By 1st class mail—U.S. $12; elsewhere $14.
By air mail—No. America $14; So. America and Europe $18; Asia (incl. USSR), Africa, Australia $20.

EDITORS: Paul M. Sweezy Harry Magdoff Leo Huberman (1903-1968)
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Bobbye Ortiz

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

From time to time we hear from readers who find some MR articles too difficult and complain about MR being heavy going. This is naturally a source of concern for us. We try to be simple and clear. But we also aim for a deeper understanding of the way capitalism works, as well as the problems of attaining and building socialism. At times there is a conflict between the goal of simplicity of expression and the complexity of the problems discussed. Perhaps it is immodest for us to quote Marx in this context, but his comment in the preface to the French edition of Volume I of *Capital* is most appropriate: "There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits."

The key words here are "those who do not dread." For while some readers talk about difficult articles, we also hear frequently from people with little education—many who are high-school dropouts—and no experience in reading "heavy" material who begin their political education with the magazine and MR Press books. The important thing is that despite the novelty of reading theoretical material, they "do not dread" and they find the effort needed to concentrate on and digest the more

(*Continued on inside back cover*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ECONOMIC STAGNATION AND STAGNATION OF ECONOMICS

The *New York Times* carried a page-one, column-eight story in its issue of March 6th under the headline, "Rate of Jobless Fell in February for a 2nd Month." On the face of it this would appear to be good news: the job situation, after worsening steadily for a whole year, is apparently beginning to improve. But if one reads on, one soon discovers that this is not true at all:

> The drop [in unemployment] to 5.8 percent of the labor force from 6 percent in January and 6.2 percent in December . . . occurred because of a decline in the number of people looking for work rather than a rise in the number of available jobs.
>
> By two separate measures, the total number of jobs fell slightly in February, after allowance for normal seasonal factors. And the average work-week fell by two tenths of an hour.

So the job situation really continued to deteriorate, and this rather than a lack of need on the part of the workers accounts for the fact that fewer were looking for work. But how does such a strange paradox arise? How can there be at one and the same time fewer jobs and less unemployment?

The answer lies in the definitions and methods used to measure unemployment. Government statisticians derive their figures by surveying each month a sample of households. People in each of the households selected are asked about their employment situation in order to find out in which category each person above 16 years of age fits: employed, unemployed, or "not in the labor force." Whether a person is employed or not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is a fairly clear concept. But the distinction between being unemployed and outside the labor force can be very vague. Some people are obviously outside the labor force if they are mentally or physically incapacitated for work—for example if they are in hospitals or other institutions. Others may be outside the labor force because they are retired, fully occupied with taking care of a house and small children, part of the idle rich, or just don't want to work. But what about those who do not fall into this category? How does one distinguish between those who are in the labor force and those who are outside?

Apart from various technicalities, in essence government statisticians make the distinction by asking the interviewed person whether he or she has recently looked for a job. Anyone who has actively looked for a job and is not working is counted as unemployed. On the other hand, anyone not actively looking for a job and not working is counted as outside the labor force. It is this method of measuring the "official" number of unemployed which makes possible the strange result reported in the *New York Times,* i.e., a simultaneous drop in the numbers of both employed and unemployed. For there is an inverse relation between the state of the economy and the number of job-seekers. In other words, at any given time there is a considerable number of people who need and want work if jobs are available but who do not actively seek work if jobs are scarce. The more severe the job scarcity and the longer it lasts, the greater will be the number who need jobs but do not actively seek them and the more numerous will be those considered outside the labor force.

From a common-sense point of view, it stands to reason that a person who would work if an acceptable job were available but who is not looking because he doesn't think it would do any good should be classified as unemployed. But no attempt is now made to count the number of such persons, and there is no generally agreed-upon, let alone foolproof, method of estimating. Nevertheless, an attempt must be made, and to be on the safe side it seems better to use a method more likely to underestimate than overestimate the amount of this "concealed" unemployment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We begin with a look at data on what are called Labor Force Participation Rates, henceforth referred to simply as participation rates. The overall participation rate is the percentage of the noninstitutional population counted as in the labor force. Similarly, a participation rate for a specific part of the population, say that of black males between the ages of 25 and 34, is the percentage of black males of these ages counted as in the labor force.

Table 1 (see p. 4), which is derived from official sources,* shows the participation rates for the age, sex, and color groups indicated, i.e., the percentages not institutionalized, not in the armed forces, and actually looking for work on the given dates. In order to show trends it is necessary that the figures should relate to a considerable period of time; while in the interest of comprehensibility it is desirable to limit as far as possible the sheer quantity of numbers. We have therefore chosen two dates, the peak year since 1948 for the participation rate in each category, and the latest figure. The year 1948 was chosen as a cutoff date on the assumption that wartime and immediate postwar participation rates would surely be abnormal by any standard and that 1948 is therefore the earliest year that could be reasonably selected. However, there is no magic about 1948, and it seemed to us most useful to single out for each category the peak year of labor force participation since 1948 and compare it with the most recent participation rate.

In the case of males, it will be noted that the peak year for the total male labor force was 1951 and that the participation rate has declined—from 86.5 percent in 1951 to 79.1 percent at the end of 1970 for whites, and from 87.3 percent to 75.2 percent for blacks.** Elements of this decline are readily explained as due primarily to non-work related causes. Thus the sharp decline in the participation rates for young people between the ages of 16 and 24 is obviously in large part the obverse of the vast expansion of the school and college popula-

* *Manpower Report of the President,* March 1970; and Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings,* January 1971.

** The official category for non-whites is "Negroes and Other Races," but blacks are so far the most important proportion that no error can result from substituting "Black."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TABLE I

Civilian Labor Force Participation Rates
(Percent)

	MALE		*FEMALE*	
Age and Color	*Peak since 1948*	*Dec. 1970*	*Peak since 1948*	*Dec. 1970*
Total (age 16 and over)				
White	86.5 (1951)	79.1	43.1 (1970)	43.7
Black	87.3 (1948)	75.2	49.8 (1969)	48.4
16 & 17				
White	52.7 (1951)	45.2	35.2 (1969)	34.3
Black	60.4 (1949)	30.5	30.4 (1951)	19.5
18 & 19				
White	76.2 (1948)	63.9	54.6 (1969)	53.4
Black	80.8 (1951)	56.9	48.7 (1967)	39.7
20-24				
White	88.4 (1951)	81.7	58.0 (1970)	58.0
Black	92.8 (1952)	82.4	58.6 (1969)	57.0
25-34				
White	97.8 (1955)	96.5	44.2 (1970)	44.2
Black	96.7 (1953)	93.3	57.8 (1969)	57.4
35-44				
White	98.3 (1955)	97.3	51.3 (1970)	51.3
Black	97.3 (1953)	92.2	60.9 (1966)	59.1
45-54				
White	96.8 (1956)	94.8	54.6 (1970)	54.6
Black	95.6 (1949)	88.3	62.3 (1964)	60.6
55-64				
White	89.6 (1948)	82.6	43.2 (1970)	43.2
Black	88.6 (1948)	78.8	49.1 (1966)	45.0
65 and over				
White	46.6 (1949)	25.4	10.6 (1960)	9.9
Black	51.4 (1949)	25.2	17.5 (1948)	12.0

tion during this period, and the even sharper decline in the participation rate for those over 65 reflects developments in the social security, retirement, and pension fields.

What is really striking in the male figures is the marked,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

though of course less dramatic, decline during the past two decades of the participation rates in the so-called prime-age group from 25 to 64. In all the subgroups the peak participation rate was reached by the mid-fifties and in most cases well before that, and in every case the decline since then has been substantial. In every age subgroup, moreover, the decline has been much greater for blacks than for whites.

It is in these figures, it seems to us, that one finds the most convincing evidence of growing concealed unemployment. Why should millions of men between the ages of 25 and 64 be dropping out of the labor market unless it be because they have despaired of finding acceptable jobs? Surely it cannot be argued that a huge leisure class of ex-workers has grown up in the United States during these years, for that would contradict the evidence of our senses and moreover would oblige us to conclude that relative to their place in the total population blacks have constituted by far the largest element in this fortunate new stratum! No, the only explanation that makes sense is that jobs, especially for the unskilled and less-educated, have been getting scarcer and scarcer and that the result has been to expel millions of workers from the labor market.

In the case of women, the data on labor force participation are much less revealing. This is because both the absolute number and the percentage of women over the age of 16 in the labor force have been going steadily up since the Second World War. As recently as 1953 only 33.4 percent of the white females in this age group were in the labor force, while at the end of 1970 this had risen to 43.1 percent. For black women the comparable figures were 43.6 percent in 1953 and 48.4 percent in 1970, an increase only about half as great as for whites but still of substantial magnitude. Given these strong upward trends, the peak-year participation rates tend to coincide with or be close in time to the rates of the most recent date. Under the circumstances a comparison of the peak and latest participation rates reflects little but the upward trend itself, except for the young (16-24) and old (over 65) age groups where the same forces have been at work, though to a lesser degree, as among male workers.

This emphatically does *not* mean that no concealed unem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ployment exists among women. We strongly suspect, indeed, that a large part of the wide disparity between male and female participation rates is an indication of massive concealed unemployment among women, a situation which until recently has been concealed even from women themselves. It is not far-fetched to speculate that a growing awareness of the huge magnitude of concealed female unemployment is one of the main driving forces behind the women's liberation movement. But the data adduced here cannot help very much in estimating the amount of concealed female unemployment,* and this is perhaps the most important reason why we are convinced that the calculation of concealed unemployment which follows understates rather than overstates the magnitude of the problem.

The method employed is a simple one. We assume that for white males aged 20-64 the "true" participation rate at the end of 1970 was not the one actually shown but the peak rate since 1948. For white males aged 16-19 we accept the 1970 rates (though convinced that they are undoubtedly too low), but we raise the much lower black rates for these age groups to the level of the white rates. (The assumption here is that if jobs were available, at least as large a proportion of blacks would be looking for them as whites.) For black males 20 and over we use either their own peak rates or those of whites in the same age subgroups, whichever are higher. For black females aged 16-19 we assume the white rates, and for black females aged 55-64 we assume the peak rate. In summary, what we have done is the following: by using the indicated set of participation rates, we add to both the labor force and to the officially counted unemployed the estimated additional numbers who would be in the labor force if jobs were available, in order to obtain a more realistic estimate of the total volume of employment and the unemployment rate at the end of 1970.

After making certain seasonal adjustments, we find that

* The official figures shown in Table 1 for female blacks aged 18 and 19 present a noteworthy exception. In December 1970, only 39.7 percent of these young women are counted in the labor force, while 53.4 percent of the white women in the same age group are counted in the labor force. What this surely reflects is the fewer job opportunities for young black women.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in December 1970 there were at least 2,388,000 uncounted unemployed as compared with 5,146,000 officially counted for a total of 7,534,000. To this must be added the full-time equivalent of involuntary part-time unemployment, which comes to 556,000.* The grand total of unemployment at the end of 1970 is therefore approximately 8.1 million which is 9.4 percent of the recalculated labor force. This is 50 percent higher than the official figure of 6.2 percent. By any relevant standard this indicates a profound state of economic stagnation.

Further evidence to the same effect is provided by the huge amount of idle productive capacity which now characterizes the U.S. economy. Table 2 presents the Federal Reserve Board's index of capacity utilization in manufacturing for the decade of the 1960s and the year 1970 (*Federal Reserve Bulletin,* February 1970). It shows that by the end of 1970 well over a quarter of manufacturing capacity was idle.

TABLE 2

Capacity Utilization in Manufacturing
(Percent)

1960	80.6	1967		85.3
1961	78.5	1968		84.5
1962	82.1	1969	(4th quarter)	81.7
1963	83.3	1970	(1st quarter)	79.8
1964	85.7		(2nd quarter)	78.0
1965	88.5		(3rd quarter)	76.2
1966	90.5		(4th quarter)	72.3

How does this compare with the stagnation of the 1930s, generally conceded to be the worst decade in U.S. economic history? The best year for comparisons is undoubtedly 1938 which, like 1970, was a year of recession following a long period of cyclical upswing. The official unemployment figure for 1938 was 19.0 percent, and if we make a 50 percent allowance for concealed unemployment it appears that close to 30 percent of the labor force was out of work that year. No official capacity-utilization statistics were collected in those

* The Department of Labor reported for December 1970: 1,382,000 employed part-time for economic reasons; that is, these workers usually worked full-time and wanted full-time jobs. Since these workers were employed on an average of 24.5 hours per week, we calculated that the lack of work was equal to the unemployment of 535,000 persons.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

days, but an estimate which is doubtless sufficient as an indicator of the order of magnitude involved puts the figure at 60 percent for 1938.* Thus, as one would naturally expect, the stagnation of the present period falls far short of that of the 1930s. There was proportionately perhaps three times as much unemployment then as compared to now and a third more idle capacity.

But here of course a question arises: How much of the difference between the two periods is accounted for by the fantastic growth of the war machine and the military budget in the last three decades? To provide the answer as far as unemployment is concerned, we should compare the 1938 unemployment rate with the percentage of the labor force (including the armed forces) which is today (a) unemployed, (b) in the armed forces, (c) employed as civilians by the Defense Department, (d) employed in the production of munitions, uniforms, etc. for the armed forces, and (e) employed in producing goods and services the demand for which stems indirectly from military spending (the so-called multiplier effect). Table 3 (see p. 9) gives figures for these categories.

All in all we see no reason to doubt that the total figure of 22.3 million is a reasonably accurate reflection of reality; if anything, it errs on the conservative side. And it works out to a staggering 25.1 percent of the total labor force—not much below the expanded estimate of unemployment for 1938 given above, and somewhat higher than the highest-ever officially recorded unemployment figure of 24.9 percent in 1933.

This 25.1 percent (unemployed plus armed forces plus workers directly and indirectly dependent on military spending) may be taken as a measure of the strength of the tendency to stagnation in U.S. monopoly capitalism at the beginning of the decade of the 1970s. Not surprisingly, in view of the enormous growth of monopoly in the last quarter century, it indicates that this tendency is considerably stronger than it was in the 1930s. And also not surprisingly, we have here the source of many of the destructive forces which are literally tearing the country's social fabric to pieces. What is surprising, or at least

* See Baran and Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital,* pp. 237, 242.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TABLE 3

Unemployment and Defense-related Employment
December 1970

	Millions
(a) Unemployed	8.1
(b) Armed Forces	2.9
(c) Civilian employees of Defense Department	1.2
(d) Employed in producing goods for the Defense Department	3.0
(e) Multiplier effect	7.1
Total	22.3

Sources: For (a) see above; (b) and (c) *Defense Indicators,* U.S. Department of Commerce, February 1971; (d) latest official figure is 1968 (*Statistical Abstract 1970,* p. 253) which has been reduced to reflect decline in defense spending since then; (e) multiplier of 1 is the low range estimated by U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *Economic Aspects of Disarmament,* 1962 (see Harry Magdoff, "Problems of United States Capitalism," *Socialist Register 1965,* footnotes 1 and 2, pp. 78-79).

ought to be, is that this whole subject of the stagnationist tendencies of monopoly capitalism is virtually forbidden territory to academic economists. The duly accredited members of the economics profession not only do not study the subject, they do not even recognize its existence.

The reason for this self-imposed blindness would seem to be a perhaps subconscious unwillingness to face the very harsh reality, that within the framework of the system there is absolutely no way the problem can be solved or even effectively ameliorated. For a long time—during what C. Wright Mills called the Great American Celebration of the 1950s and early 1960s—it seemed that cold and hot wars, in addition to making the "free world" safe for American investment, would provide a permanent answer. But that illusion, like much else, fell victim to the war in Vietnam. Under the impact of a soaring military budget, the official unemployment rate (though not concealed unemployment) improved for a few years, but only at the cost of touching off an accelerating inflationary process which gives every sign of long outlasting the boom which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

started it. The combined effect of war and inflation was to multiply and inflame all the society's open and latent tensions and contradictions. Revolts broke out among blacks, young people, women; class struggles burst forth on the economic front after a long period of relative calm; and internationally a continuing series of astronomical balance-of-payments deficits threatens to undermine the supremacy of the dollar and with it U.S. hegemony over the capitalist world. And now a normal cyclical downturn plus a relatively minor reduction in military spending (from $78.8 billion in 1969 to $76.6 billion in 1970) have pushed the country back into the deepening stagnation typical of the late Eisenhower years from which Kennedy rearmament and the Vietnam war were supposed to have rescued it. For those with eyes to see it is now crystal clear that the whole inherently monstrous idea of salvation through war was really never anything but a cruel deception.

All of which leads straight to the conclusion which the economists are unwilling to face, that the only solution is a complete change in the economic system. Fortunately, more and more people are coming to understand this, or at least to suspect it, with the result that the economists' tacit "conspiracy of ignorance" is beginning to yield diminishing returns. How else could we explain the appearance in, of all places, the *New York Times Magazine* (Sunday, March 7) of an eminently rational and sensible analysis of the growing welfare crisis? The article, by Herbert J. Gans who is described as a professor of sociology and planning at M.I.T., begins as follows:

> When the Nixon administration's Family Assistance Plan was shelved by the last Congress at the end of 1970, 15 percent of New York's population, 25 percent of Newark's population, and 6 percent of all Americans—about 12.5 million people—were on welfare, and since then their number has continued to rise faster than expected.

Further to indicate the nature of the problem, Professor Gans might have added that between the 1960 and 1970 censuses the total population of the United States rose by 13 percent while the welfare rolls shot up by no less than 94 percent. There are doubtless a number of factors at work here (the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ghetto rebellions of the mid-60s certainly played a role in inducing cities to be more "generous" in dispensing welfare benefits, and the poor are clearly more aware of their rights today than they were ten years ago), but no one who has made even a cursory study of the subject doubts that the real driving force came from growing poverty related to the increase in concealed unemployment. After noting some of the proposals being made for dealing with the problem, Gans proceeds:

> None of the programs . . . can do much about the welfare problem itself. That problem is really in the heart of the American economy, which simply does not need all the unemployed looking for work at a living wage and which cannot provide for all the working poor who require higher wages to support their families. Ultimately, therefore, an end to the welfare problem requires either remaking the economy so that it provides full employment at a living wage, or altering public beliefs about welfare so that the government will provide the unneeded and underpaid with a decent income.

Which, practically speaking, is another way of saying that the welfare problem will be with us—and growing—as long as we have monopoly capitalism. For if historical experience teaches anything, surely it is that under this system power is in the hands of a class which has no intention whatever of either remaking the economy or handing over tens of billions of dollars every year to the unneeded and underpaid.

It is encouraging that academic sociologists and the *New York Times* are prepared to discuss these matters seriously and not simply in terms of the ruling-class ideology. Is it too much to hope that the economists, whose special job it ought to be, will some day catch up?

But of course this is not the really important question for socialists, whose educational task is much broader and more important that that of the academic social scientists. We have to teach literally masses of people not only the nature of the system but also that the only alternative with a chance of rescuing us from the deep trouble we're in is socialism. On our success or failure to achieve this in good time may depend the whole future of mankind. Unfortunately, this is not rhetorical exaggeration. It is a sober and sobering fact.

(March 15, 1971)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOSPITALS IN CHINA

BY JOSHUA S. HORN

The following article is the sixth chapter of *Away With All Pests: An English Surgeon in People's China, 1954-1969,* a book being published by Monthly Review Press and available later this month. Dr. Horn is a distinguished British surgeon who, after many years of practice in England, including seven years as a specialist in Birmingham, moved to China with his family and there immersed himself in medical work, eventually becoming Professor of Orthopedics and Traumatology in Peking and a member of a mobile medical team which traveled throughout China. He is thus able to offer a unique account, which has already been published in England and hailed, particularly by the medical journals, as an important book. For example, the reviewer for *Synapse* found the material in this chapter most interesting, commenting: "In a society which is officially classless there is no hospital hierarchy, and free discussion takes place about problems of diagnosis and treatment among doctors, nurses, patients, and others. Mistakes are not covered up, but are carefully analyzed. Administrators have to take part in practical work to keep them in touch with the situation. It would be interesting to see a Medical Superintendent in this country stoking boilers, or a Matron cleaning lavatories!"—The Editors

It is sometimes said that Communist thinking is excessively preoccupied with material things such as economics and production plans and that it pays insufficient attention to human relationships. Communism will transform human relationships and it is in order to do this that it must first revolutionize the economic structure of society. I think that China has made more progress in transforming human relationships than any country in the world and the relationships which are developing in Chinese hospitals illustrate the direction of change.

The relationship between patients and doctors in China is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

based on equality and mutual respect. If both are contributing to the building of socialism, their differing contributions represent a division of labor in a common cause. There is no room for a superior or patronizing attitude on the part of the doctor and neither is there any room for the bluff heartiness, false familiarity, or any other of the devices which often masquerade as a "bedside manner."

The doctor's job is unreservedly to serve the interests of his patients. Chinese patients, like patients all over the world, like to have things explained to them. They want to know what they are suffering from, how long it will take to get better, and what treatment they are having. It is part of the doctor's duty not only to explain this fully when asked, but to volunteer such information even when not asked. This takes time, but time spent in such explanations is well spent, for reassurance and the establishment of a bond of confidence between doctor and patient play an important part in cure.

In the wards there is an informal family atmosphere very different from what I was accustomed to in England and which, at first, I found disconcerting. Now that I have got used to it, I find it natural and advantageous.

The patients often select representatives to convey their opinions and suggestions to teams of doctors, nurses, and orderlies, who have day-to-day responsibility in relation to specified groups of patients. These teams meet daily to plan the day's work. Ambulant patients play an active part in ward affairs. They take their meals in the ward dining-room and many of them help patients who are confined to bed, reading newspapers to them, keeping them company, and becoming familiar with their medical and social problems. I conduct a ward round in a different ward each day and as I do so, I usually collect a retinue of patients who go with me, look, and listen, and often volunteer information. At first I thought this was an intrusion on the patient's privacy, but later I discovered that they accompanied me not out of idle curiosity but because of a genuine concern for their fellow patients, and that it often helped to put me fully in the picture. Standards of privacy vary in different countries and in different social systems; elsewhere, a woman's age and a man's income are closely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

guarded secrets, but in socialist China there is no reticence about such trivia.

The children in the children's ward are valuable allies in medical care. In every ward there is always at least one bright youngster who knows all about the others and who can unravel mysteries which baffle the doctors. I was perplexed by the silence of a little girl who had sustained very severe burns and who steadfastly refused to speak a word for several months. Another child explained it to me in terms that even an adult could understand. "You see," he said, "when she got burned she was very frightened and thought she was going to die. Her mother and her little brother both died in that fire. Now she doesn't want to remember it and if you ask her questions and she answers them, she will remember it and feel very sad. At first she wouldn't speak to me either but now we are friends and she knows I won't ask her anything about the fire. Soon she'll start speaking to you too." And she did.

Not only patients, but also their friends, relatives and workmates feel responsible for ensuring that everything is done in the interests of the patient. Workers who have sustained industrial injuries are brought to hospital by workmates or administrators from the factory and if the injury is serious, they often stay with them in hospital until the outcome is clear. If possible, we find beds for such escorts; otherwise they stay in a nearby inn and spend most of the day at the bedside. Mothers of young children usually live in hospital and are irreplaceable in treatment.

A doctor's attitude to mistakes has a profound influence on the doctor/patient relationship. In China the attitude to medical mistakes is: prevent them, admit them, learn from them.

Prevention is helped by the daily meetings of the groups of doctors, nurses, orderlies, and patients' representatives who plan the day's work and allocate direct responsibility. All the doctors and nurses in a ward discuss major operation cases, exchanging opinions on the reasons for operation, the result to be expected, the operative procedure to be followed, difficulties that might arise during or after the operation, and points to pay attention to in the post-operative period. Final responsi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bility rests with the surgeon in charge of the case, but the others, no matter whether they are junior or senior, are free to express their views. These discussions ensure that full preparations are made for the operation and that the post-operative care is conducted by a close-knit team.

If anything goes wrong, the duty of the surgeon is to admit it frankly and never conceal it from the patient. It would be considered shameful and a betrayal of trust for a doctor to use his privileged position to deceive a patient concerning a mistake in treatment, and it would be still worse if he rallied other doctors to join him in covering things up.

The principle of learning from mistakes is deeply rooted in the work of the Chinese Communist Party. "Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better."* Mishaps in treatment are, therefore, discussed both by those who were directly concerned and by others who may be involved in a similar situation in the future. Exact responsibility is traced down, not for blame but in order to learn the appropriate lessons and prevent a repetition. Very often, behind a mistake which superficially seems to be of a purely technical nature, there is a shortcoming in attitude such as a lack of responsibility, conceit, complacency, or neglect of others' opinions, and the lucidation of such wrong attitudes contains lessons for everyone.

The attitude to complaints is that, if they are justified, one should learn from them and make amends, while if they are not justified, one should not blame the patient for making them, but use them as a warning lest they become justified in the future.

Complaints by patients are, therefore, dealt with very seriously, whether they are made directly to the doctor or are written in the "Opinion Books" which are kept in every ward and department. Letters of complaint go to a special office

* Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," June 30, 1949, *Selected Works,* Vol. IV, p. 422.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which deals with some directly and passes others on to the person concerned. Sometimes complaints are made to newspapers, which either forward them to the hospital concerned or publish them if they have wider significance.

Litigation is very rarely resorted to, even though it is free of charge. It is unnecessary in a situation where conflicting interests between doctor and patient are reduced to a minimum, where the emphasis is on wholehearted service to patients, where every effort is made to avoid mistakes and where mistakes which do occur are freely admitted and corrected. Hospitals accept responsibility for losses incurred by patients as a result of negligence and it is not necessary to go to law about it.

The ideal of being "wholly responsible" in one's attitude to patients is one which doctors of all political persuasions can readily accept. However, the criteria of what this entails differ in different social systems. For me, the concept of full responsibility has taken on a deeper meaning since coming to China. Although in the past I always thought of myself as being responsible, it is becoming clear that to be fully responsible requires more than good intentions.

I can illustrate this by referring to a patient on whom I operated recently, after a mental struggle involving the principle of "responsibility."

He was a middle-aged peasant who had been overcome by fumes from a coal stove while cooking his supper. He had fallen unconscious across the stove and, since he lived alone in a remote cottage, he remained in that position all night. His padded trousers caught fire and both legs, from the buttocks to the toes, were charred to a cinder. The little cottage was filled with hot smoke which burnt his lungs and windpipe. When he was discovered, still unconscious, the following morning, he was rushed to hospital in a critical condition. He was black in the face from asphyxia and his vocal cords were so swollen that they almost obstructed the windpipe.

Within minutes of arrival we had made an emergency opening into the windpipe to relieve the obstruction and had sucked out large quantities of frothy fluid from the lungs. With oxygen, his color started to improve and after getting intravenous plasma, he regained consciousness.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At this point we paused to consider the problem as a whole. The outlook was extremely bad. Both lower limbs were completely destroyed from the buttocks downward and his lungs were severely burned. If he survived the next twenty-four hours he was almost certain to develop septic pneumonia and if that did not kill him, the burnt buttocks would soon become infected; with his resistance at a low ebb, he would probably die of septicemia. Some of the doctors thought it was impossible to save his life and doubted whether we should fruitlessly prolong his agony. If by a miracle he survived, he would be legless, with no possibility of fitting artificial limbs since he would have no stumps.

Two fellow villagers who had brought him to hospital, as though reading our thoughts, urged us to do everything possible to save him. They explained that he was the chairman of the Association of Former Poor Peasants in his commune, that everybody respected him for his unselfish service, and would look after him very well.

We resolved to do all we could to save him and discussed our plan of treatment. It was obvious that both legs must be amputated through the hip joints, but two opposing viewpoints emerged in the course of discussion. One was that amputation should be postponed until his lungs had recovered and his general condition had improved sufficiently to enable him to withstand a very formidable operation. The other was that time was not on our side and that, although early operation was dangerous, delay was even more dangerous. If we delayed, the huge burn would certainly become infected and his overall burden would be greatly increased.

Gradually, through argument, it became clear that these opposing viewpoints did not result from different estimations of the medical aspects of the case but, in essence, reflected two different attitudes towards responsibility and taking risks. No surgeon likes to run risks—especially the risk of a death on the operating table, which is distressing to the surgeon and harmful to his reputation. Of course, it is wrong to run unnecessary risks but sometimes it is safer to run a risk than to run away from it. In such cases, concern for one's reputation and peace of mind may, even though unconsciously, influence a surgeon's decisions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We approached the problem again, determined to be guided by Mao's insistence on a full sense of responsibility and were finally able to agree that operation as soon as possible would give the best chance of survival. Accordingly, on the second day, after making very thorough preparations, we disarticulated both hips, excised the burnt skin from the buttocks and perineum and applied skin grafts to the raw areas.

The patient stood the operation remarkably well and is now able to get about in a specially modified wheelchair. He is in good spirits and is looking forward to rejoining his fellow farmers and serving them to the best of his ability, for many years to come.

Dr. Chen, an ophthalmologist from Shantung province, has related her own experiences in breaking through restrictive old orthodoxies and developing a fully responsible attitude. The orthodox treatment for serious penetrating wounds of the eyeball is removal of the damaged eye, because of the danger that the remaining eye may become infected. Dr. Chen, worried by the distress of patients when they were told that they would have to lose an eye, looked up medical records over many years to calculate the risk to the uninjured eye and found that infection occurred in only 0.46 percent of cases. Since, with modern methods of treatment it is often possible to secure a favorable outcome in cases of infection, she adopted a policy of preserving injured eyes if they retained any sense of light. As a result, partial vision has been restored in many eyes which, according to orthodox teaching, should have been removed.

She describes how, with a growing determination to be guided by proletarian politics, her attitude to blind people in her locality changed from sympathy to determination to restore vision whenever possible. So she spent hours tracking down all the blind people in the town and surrounding villages and, out of a total of 219, selected 53 for operation. All regained some vision and one, who had been blind since childhood, strikingly illustrated the contrast between the old and the new society for, in the past, he used to beg outside that very hospital and had always been driven away with curses, whereas now, instead of being driven away, he had been sought out and invited to enter the hospital for treatment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A veteran, who had been blinded in the revolutionary wars many years before, came to see Dr. Chen with the faint hope that he might regain some degree of vision. His condition was extremely complicated and Dr. Chen consulted her chief—the most experienced ophthalmic surgeon in the province. He examined the patient, looked up textbooks from all over the world and concluded that it was impossible to restore vision. But Dr. Chen was not easily convinced. She remembered Mao's teaching on the relation between learning from books and learning from practice: "Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that."*

The realization grew that data in books can never represent anything more than the knowledge of certain men, from a certain angle, at a certain time and under certain conditions, and that most new discoveries involve unlearning what one has learned from books. She refused to be restricted within the confines of such knowledge and, after prolonged study, discussion, and experimentation, she operated on the blind veteran.

This episode was subsequently presented as a stage drama and I will long remember the final scene.

The time had come for removal of the bandages covering the patient's eyes. He was led into a room where the nurses and doctors who had been involved were assembled. The atmosphere was electric. As the last turn of bandage was unwound, the patient looked straight forward. He could see! And the first person he saw was the elderly consultant who had declared that restoration of vision was impossible and had opposed the operation. The patient, assuming it was he who had operated on him, approached with faltering steps and grasped him by the shoulder. Choking with emotion, he said, "The enemy blinded me. Now you have given me back my sight. I can find no words to thank you."

The consultant, shaken out of his complacency and painfully aware that this victory had been won not by him but in spite of him, replied, "Don't thank me. I must thank you. I too have been blind for many years but now you and Dr. Chen have lifted the scales from my eyes."

---

* Mao Tse-tung, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," December 1936, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 189-190.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The doctor/patient relationship is, of course, a two-way relationship which also involves the attitude of the patient to his doctor and to his treatment. This, too, is changing with the changes in Chinese society and particularly under the impact of the Cultural Revolution.

I recently visited a coal mine in Shansi province where I was told that the miners objected to having to obtain a doctor's certificate in order to go on sick leave. They said that this obsolete regulation reflected distrust of the workers. Accordingly, it was abolished and the interesting thing is that, since then, the number of workers absent for health reasons has fallen sharply.

An aviator named Yuan Zhao-xiang crash-landed when his plane went out of control in a mountainous area. He sustained multiple injuries, including a fracture of the spine and was not expected to resume flying. However, he was determined to do so and he co-operated so enthusiastically in all aspects of treatment that, when he was told to exercise the muscles of his back, he did so with such vigor that his bed was often soaked with his sweat. To increase the effectiveness of the exercises he put weights on his shoulders and within a few weeks could raise a weight of sixty pounds in the prone position. He resumed flying duties within three months, having left a deep impression on the doctors and nurses involved in his treatment.

Relationships Between Members of the Hospital Staff

In order to weld hospital workers of all grades into a team, every member of which is dedicated to the service of patients, it is necessary to combat rivalry, selfishness and careerism, to stimulate initiative and promote thoroughgoing democracy. Political study, and especially study of the works of Mao Tse-tung, helps in this but, to be effective, study must be linked with actual problems.

For example, some time ago a noticeably bad atmosphere developed in one of the wards in our traumatological service. Patients started complaining of indifference and carelessness and some doctors and nurses asked to be transferred to other wards.

The Party Committee asked the staff to read Chairman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mao's article "Our Study and the Current Situation,"* and then a meeting was held to discuss the problems in the ward in the light of this article. The meeting proceeded in a relaxed, informal manner in the ward office. An orderly started by reading aloud from the article: "Many things may become baggage, may become encumbrances, if we cling to them blindly and uncritically. Let us take some illustrations. Having made mistakes, you may feel that, come what may, you are saddled with them and so become dispirited; if you have not made mistakes you may feel that you are free from error and so become conceited."

A young resident doctor, who had been sitting in a corner, interjected: "I think that applies to me. I have made mistakes and gradually I have lost my confidence and zest for work. I missed the diagnosis in that old man with a fracture of the neck of the femur and two of my operation cases became infected. I used to be keen to be given responsibility but now I prefer safe routine jobs. I think you all look down on me and consider me a flop."

"That's right," said a pert young nurse. "Many of us think you let the ward down and give it a bad name."

"You shouldn't think that," said the orderly who had been reading. "Doesn't the Chairman say that the only people who don't make mistakes are those who don't do any work? It seems to me that some of you nurses have become a bit conceited because you are young and haven't made too many obvious mistakes—yet!"

The senior surgeon intervened. "There's some truth in that," and he went on to read from the article. 'Even one's age may become ground for conceit. The young, because they are bright and capable, may look down on the old; and the old, because they are rich in experience, may look down upon the young.' Maybe I look down on the young from the height of my advanced age," he said with a disarming smile.

"No, you don't do that," said the head nurse. "You are very nice to our young nurses and encourage them a lot. Your

* Mao Tse-tung, "Our Study and the Current Situation," April 12, 1944, *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fault is different. The Chairman says: 'Any specialized skill may be capitalized on and so lead to arrogance and contempt of others.' When Dr. Guo misdiagnosed the fracture of the neck of the femur, your attitude to him was very bad. Instead of explaining things to him in a comradely way, you pompously gave a lecture on the subject in front of everybody and made him feel very small. That did harm, not good."

The discussion continued, sometimes heatedly, sometimes gently, but always with great frankness and honesty of purpose. Many simmering problems which had strained relations and impaired the work were brought to light and analyzed.

Within a few months, this ward became one of the best in hospital.

Most new medical graduates take up rotating resident appointments which give them practical experience in every branch of medicine and surgery so that within a few years they are able to work independently in any field.

My own hospital has gained some reputation in traumatology and orthopedics and we receive a regular flow of surgeons for training in these subjects. Our postgraduate courses, both for nurses and doctors, usually last one year during which the trainees participate fully in the work and life of the hospital. They live in quarters provided by the hospital and are soon blended with our own staff who help them in every possible way.

Frequent consultations between doctors help in postgraduate training. Consultations within wards on difficult cases are the rule, while more complex cases are often discussed by all doctors in the Orthopedic and Traumatic Department at regular Saturday morning meetings. The doctor in charge of the patient reads the case history and demonstrates the physical signs after which, if the patient has no objection, those who wish to examine him do so. Then, diagnosis and treatment are discussed, the custom being for junior doctors to speak first. In preparation for such meetings, a surgeon often analyzes the results of treatment of similar patients and another may review the relevant medical literature. The hospital has a library containing medical books and periodicals from many countries and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we have a special department to translate and summarize important articles. All our doctors have studied a foreign language, mostly English, and many are able to read foreign medical articles in their original language.

When a new hospital is built (and more than ten have been built in Peking alone since I have been here), it is staffed by transferring people from well-established hospitals, on the principle (not always observed) that the best people should be transferred. The "parent" hospital then takes on a long-term responsibility for the smooth development of the new hospital and, to help in this, senior members of its own staff may conduct regular clinics or ward rounds in the new hospital. This process of staffing and maintaining responsibility for new hospitals is called "laying an egg." My own hospital has laid several such eggs, some many hundreds of miles away.

In 1958, during the Great Leap Forward, the practice developed of holding nation-wide, large-scale consultations on cases presenting special problems. My own experience of such large-scale consultation was largely in the treatment of burns covering more than one half of the entire surface of the body, one of the most formidable tasks a doctor can be confronted with. China lacked experience in this field and was determined to catch up with and, if possible, surpass the world's most advanced levels.

I deal with this subject in more detail elsewhere. Here I will only recall the large-scale consultations which have left an indelible mark on my memory. On many occasions we assembled as many as twenty or thirty specialists in various fields to work out the best treatment for a severely burned worker. They had been invited by the Ministry of Health which arranged air transportation for them from all over China and provided hotel accommodation for as long as necessary. Consultations often went on all night. During that time I put up a camp bed in my office so that I could snatch a few hours' sleep when the opportunity presented. I often acted as chairman at these mammoth sessions, but I lacked the tact and diplomacy necessary to give everybody a chance to air his views without prolonging the affair beyond the limits of endurance. Specialists

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are touchy people no matter what their nationality and, having travelled some thousands of miles, they usually feel obliged to expound their views at some length, even though what they say has already been said by others in a slightly different phraseology. It seems to be a law of nature that specialists, no matter whether they are surgeons, physicians, biochemists, endocrinologists, hematologists or bacteriologists, are firmly convinced that their field of work holds the key to success.

In retrospect, these large-scale consultations had both positive and negative aspects. On the one hand, they ensured that the most varied experience was placed at the disposal of the patient and we all learnt from each other and got to know each other. On the other hand, they were very time-consuming, they over-emphasized the importance of technique and specialized knowledge, and sometimes by the time we had agreed on a course of action, the patient's condition had changed.

Gradually the practice fell into abeyance and was replaced by another much more valuable type of collective work. This was to send out teams of doctors and nurses to supplement the local staff whenever they were asked for. They went at a moment's notice to any corner of the land. Their task was not just to consult, but to help with the actual work. When a number of steel workers in the northern steel city of Anshan sustained severe burns, a colleague and I spent more than a month there, participating in the treatment and operating every day. On another occasion one of our surgeons flew to distant Sinkiang to re-operate on a patient whose severed limb had been successfully reattached but who had developed a blood clot in the joined-up artery.

Many lives and limbs have been saved and advanced knowledge and techniques widely disseminated by the nation-wide co-operation that characterizes Chinese medical services.

Democracy versus Bureaucracy

Not a few foreign visitors to our hospital have commented on the democracy which is apparent even on a brief visit. I have worked in the hospital ever since it was built in 1956 and I have encountered a deep-going democracy such as I have not met elsewhere.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Doctors, nurses, orderlies, boiler-men, administrators, Party functionaries, maintenance workers, and gardeners, nearly 900 of us, all eat together in one huge dining-room. We collect our own food and pay for it in food tickets bought once a month. My lunch, on an average, costs the equivalent of about sixpence. We all belong to the same Trade Union, the fee for which is one percent of the salary. No one does any private practice and everybody knows what everyone else earns.

A few years ago, the Government decided that 43 percent of all workers, including, of course, hospital workers, should get an increase in salary. Some guidelines were suggested as a help in deciding who should get an increase: the higher-paid should be less eligible than the lower-paid; the attitude to socialist construction should be taken into account; those with heavy family commitments and those who had not had a rise in salary for some time should get priority; working ability should be rewarded. Discussion meetings in the light of these guidelines were held in every department, and a list of names was proposed and sent to the administration. The administration made a few modifications in the light of their own estimation and sent the list back for further discussion. After several weeks of discussion, a list recommending 43 percent of the hospital staff for promotion was agreed on and in due course they received increases in salary.

The actual level of wages and salaries in China, if translated into English currency, is low; but in my experience, very few Chinese regard themselves as being poor. In fact, they are not poor. They do not have much money but it is enough for their needs, with some left over. They pay no income tax, food and clothing are cheap, rents are nominal, and frugality and plain living rather than ostentation are the order of the day.

My experience during fourteen years in China is that the Chinese people have a richer cultural life, are more articulate, use their leisure time more profitably, and have a clearer understanding of where they want to go and how they are going to get there than any people I have ever met. That makes them rich, not poor.

I think most of my colleagues in England would agree

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that doctors and hospital administrators seem to be natural enemies.

That is not so in China. All important administrative decisions are taken on the recommendation of a committee composed of elected representatives from every department. Administrative workers and Party functionaries, in accordance with regulations in force throughout China, are expected to spend one day a week doing such manual work in the hospital as sweeping the floors, stoking the furnaces, or serving food. This keeps them in touch with the actual situation and is a powerful corrective for incipient bureaucracy. When a hospital director cleans a ward, he does so under the direction of the ward orderly, who can form a first-hand estimate of his attitude and deflate any tendency towards superiority.

Some regard it a waste of time for a skilled administrator to clean lavatories or shovel coal. There is, in fact, a contradiction between the scarcity of trained personnel on the one hand and the requirement that they spend part of their time in relatively unskilled labor on the other.

The view of the Chinese Communist Party, however, is that the main contradiction lies not here but in the tendency for those in positions of authority to become bureaucrats who issue orders from their offices without investigating the problems they are dealing with, and who gradually put their own interests first. This tendency is very powerful and, although exceptional strength of character may resist it, administrators can easily become bureaucrats unless they are confronted by a powerful corrective such as regular participation in manual labor.

The shortage of trained personnel is only temporary, but the necessity to maintain the closest links between administrators and Party functionaries and the mass of the people, and to nip bureaucracy in the bud, is permanent.

Therefore, no matter that "ten thousand tasks cry out to be done, and all of them urgently," the Chinese Communist Party insists on regular participation of administrators and Party functionaries in manual labor.

My experience has been not that too much time has been spent in this way, but rather too little, since in the few years preceding the Cultural Revolution there was a tendency for this excellent practice to go by the board.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The relations between nurses and doctors in Chinese hospitals differ strikingly from those I encountered in England. For one thing, the sex relationship is different. Whereas in the West many young doctors regard pretty nurses as natural prey, this is not so in China. Many visitors to China regard the Chinese as being puritanical in their attitude to sex and this is understandable, for flirtatiousness is discouraged as being out of tune with the new society. This is too big a subject to be discussed here, and I will only say that there are very good historical and social reasons for the Chinese attitude to sex. Of all the tremendous changes that occurred in China after Liberation, the change in the status of women was one of the biggest. From having no rights, they became politically, economically, and socially equal with men, and this transformation naturally has profoundly influenced the relationships between the sexes. A loose attitude to women is regarded not as a personal peccadillo, but as something politically reactionary. What is puritanical and what is licentious can only be decided by reference to the overall moral and political standards of society.

Many Chinese nurses are married and have children, for nursing here is not a pre-marriage interlude but an honorable lifelong career. My hospital has a day nursery for the children of all grades of hospital workers, including nurses. Naturally, many nurses marry doctors working in the same hospital, but they are just as likely to marry other types of hospital workers. The relationship after marriage is also different from what it is in the West. Married women in China keep their original surnames and retain their own identity in every respect. They are never referred to as "Mrs. So-and-So," but as "Comrade So-and-So," or by their full names. In the dining-room, husband and wife do not necessarily sit together but often sit with their immediate colleagues. During the Cultural Revolution, husbands and wives have sometimes found themselves in opposing political camps, in which case they attend different sets of meetings, raise different political slogans, and put up sharply contrasting Big Character Posters. Usually, however, this does not affect the harmony of their private relationship.

This was illustrated during a recent ward discussion on the Cultural Revolution. Many of those present had praised a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

young surgeon for being politically "left," sympathetic in his attitude to patients and professionally skilful. Towards the end of the meeting, a very pretty, kittenish, young nurse who had always struck me as being shy and retiring, surprised me by speaking at length and with great passion. After sketching the course of the Cultural Revolution in the hospital, she directed her fire at the young surgeon who had been praised. "I know he's a good doctor," she said, "but he's no leftist. I know what I'm talking about. He's my husband, and when he comes home in the evening he tells me all about the beautiful operations he's done, but he never tells me why he does them, whether it's to become famous or to serve the people. He reads surgical journals for hours on end, but as soon as he picks up a volume of Mao, he gets sleepy. He's quite happy to be overburdened with clinical work so as to have an excuse for being inactive in the Cultural Revolution. He's a little hard of hearing, but whenever I speak to him about politics, he gets quite deaf. This revolution has touched most of us to the soul, but it's got nowhere near his soul. He's certainly no leftist. At best he's a middle-of-the-roader. And if he's not careful, he'll become a rightist!"

She stopped abruptly, her dimpled cheeks flushed with excitement.

It was a striking demonstration of political integrity. She loves her husband and, because she loves him, she feels strongly about his political flabbiness.

There is much more equality between doctors and nurses in China than in the West. Medical students and doctors both participate in nursing work under the supervision of trained nurses. Nurses join the doctors in ward rounds and work with them in teams in which there is a division of responsibility. There is not much difference in the salary scale as between doctors and nurses, and the type of accommodation provided is exactly the same.

The boundaries between their respective spheres of work are much less sharply drawn than in the West and are progressively being broken down. Chinese nurses regularly carry out procedures such as intravenous injections, which are usually done by doctors in the West. More and more nurses are learning to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

administer anesthetics and the operating-room nurses usually assist at operations.

Moreover, since the policy has been to orient the health services towards the countryside, a number of experienced nurses have been selected for special training to equip them to work as doctors. This may cause some eyebrow raising among colleagues in the West and I must confess that I too experienced misgivings, which no doubt reflect a habitual conservatism in medical matters.

However, after seeing the results of promoting nurses to become doctors, I am now not only reconciled to this innovation but actively support it. Common sense, devotion to the patients' interests, practical experience, and a sense of responsibility are, after all, the most important requirements for medical work and there is no reason why an experienced nurse should have less of these than a young doctor just because he has studied for a few years longer. I am not belittling the importance of theoretical study. I believe that a good grasp of theory is of great value. But I agree with Chairman Mao that applying is also learning and the more important part of learning at that. Those senior nurses who are selected for training as doctors are relieved of all other duties for at least six months and go through an intensive course of medical education.

The former head nurse in our hand-surgery ward has now become a doctor in the same ward. During ward rounds, I often ask her questions and she impresses me with her grasp of the complicated anatomy and physiology of the hand. She assists other surgeons in difficult operations and they assist her in simple ones. She is modest, keen to learn and dexterous, and I am sure that within a few years she will become a competent surgeon in this field.

Most nurses who become doctors are allocated work in villages, factories, or mines. In the villages they are a great help to the peasant doctors who are being trained in large numbers, as described elsewhere in this book. In factories and mines they supplement existing industrial medical service.

It is emphasized that such promotion is not a reward for talent, but a method of enabling senior nurses to increase their usefulness to the people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this chapter I have tried to give a picture of the relationships which exist between doctors and patients and among staff members of Chinese hospitals. What I have written is based on my own experience, which is necessarily limited.

I do not want to give the impression that deeply-rooted attitudes and prejudices have been abolished as though by magic and that all problems have been solved. What has been accomplished has been the result of unremitting struggle and there is still much room for improvement. Selfishness, irresponsibility, and careerism are still to be found among our medical staff. Avoidable medical mishaps still occur. Patients sometimes complain unreasonably. Some administrators and Party functionaries pay lip-service to the virtues of participation in manual labor but, when it comes to the point, consistently evade it. The trade union, by and large, has become little more than a welfare organization.

These and other defects do not negate the essence of the situation in Chinese hospitals, which is one of solid achievement and remarkable advance. All the existing defects will sooner or later be exposed and put right. Especially now, during the Cultural Revolution, everything that does not fit in with China's socialist system, everything that is shabby or second-rate, is being mercilessly criticized, discarded, and supplanted.

Were I to be writing this book a few years hence, I am sure that there would still be many things to criticize, but they would not be the same things that I criticize now; I would still be able to indicate problems that cry out for solution, but they would not be the same problems that vex us now.

The Revolution can only begin; it never ends.

—Bernadette Devlin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE TEACHING OF MARXIAN ECONOMICS

The following letter, addressed to Professor Merton J. Peck, Chairman of the Economics Department at Yale, is self-explanatory, and the reasons for publishing it in MR are stated in the letter itself.—The Editors

Dear Professor Peck:

I appreciate the invitation to conduct a graduate seminar in Marxian economics in the 1971 fall term. In spite of the fact that the compensation offered is obviously considerably less than would be offered to a visiting professor from another university, my first inclination was to accept.* On further consideration, however, I came reluctantly to the conclusion that I would be better advised not to. Let me explain.

I am well aware, as I am sure you are, that students at both the undergraduate and graduate levels are becoming increasingly interested in Marxian economics. As a natural consequence they are urging and in some cases pressuring college and university administrations to include in the curriculum appropriate courses taught by qualified instructors. It is of course conceivable that a qualified teacher could be a non-Marxist, but for reasons which I need hardly elaborate on here, there are few if any academic economists in the United States who

* Since this letter was sent I have been informed that the compensation offered, while lower than it would have been up to this year, is standard for visiting professors teaching individual courses but not otherwise involved in departmental duties such as supervising or reading Ph.D. theses. The reduction as compared to previous years is part of a retrenchment program dictated by the financial crisis which Yale and many other colleges and universities are undergoing. I am glad to make this correction.—P.M.S.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are in fact so qualified. In effect, therefore, the needs of the students can be met only by Marxist instructors. The trouble of course is that for all practical purposes there are today none in U.S. institutions of higher learning. Martin Bronfenbrenner wrote in the *American Economic Review* (December 1964): "Paul Baran's premature death . . . deprived U.S. economics of its last eminent academic practitioner professing Marxism in both theory and policy." He went on to speculate that the "vacuum created by Baran's death may conceivably be only temporary," but so far at any rate it has not proved to be the case. Every generation of graduate students includes a by no means insignificant number of Marxists, but with very few exceptions they are dropped from the academic world before acquiring tenure. And the exceptions for the most part find it prudent to keep their ideology separate from their teaching and research. The result is that the supply of qualified teachers to meet the students' growing demand for courses in Marxian economics (and other social studies) is, to put it mildly, grossly inadequate.

That this situation creates problems for college and university administrators is obvious, and it seems to me that these problems are made more, not less, severe because of the fact that they have no one but themselves to blame. Under the circumstances, I have to ask myself what my own responsibilities are. Should I stand ready, as far as possible, to lend a helping hand by responding favorably to a growing number of invitations to give lectures or courses in Marxian economics? Or should I, by refusing to follow this course, do what I can to impress upon the academic authorities that if they want to satisfy their students' demands in this area, it is up to them to encourage younger Marxists and keep them on their faculties?

There are of course arguments on both sides. It is certainly better that students should have some satisfaction rather than none, and it may well be that the obstacles inhibiting academic authorities from adopting a different policy toward younger Marxists are too formidable to be overcome. On the other hand, this latter argument may be only an excuse for not trying. Under the circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the proper course is to accept, when feasible, invitations to discharge functions which would normally be entrusted to visitors, but to refuse to teach courses for which it seems to me an institution of higher learning ought to assume responsibility through its own faculty.

I'm sure you will understand that while the invitation to give the seminar at Yale obliged me to face the problem and take a definite position, it is really not an issue between your department and me but rather relates to the whole field of teaching economics in the United States today. If my decision and the reasoning behind it are to have any effect—e.g., in stimulating discussion of this and related problems—they must of course be communicated to interested circles in the colleges and universities. I shall therefore take the liberty of publishing this letter in a forthcoming issue of MONTHLY REVIEW which has a wide readership on campuses around the country.

Yours very sincerely,

(s) Paul M. Sweezy

I would like to subscribe to

MONTHLY REVIEW

Special sub rates to students: $5 (foreign $6) 45s.
☐ 1 year $7 (foreign $8) 60s. ☐ 2 years $12 (foreign $14) 100s.

Monthly Review Press
116 West 14th Street
New York, N. Y. 10011

I enclose $.....

Monthly Review Press
33/37 Moreland Street
London, E.C. 1, England

I enclose £.....

Please send me MONTHLY REVIEW for
☐ two years
☐ one year

Name .....

Address .....

.....

(Canadian readers: if you pay in Canadian currency, please add 10 percent.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By Oldrich Kyn and Howard Sherman

This note is a critique of Benjamin Page's "Ota Sik and Czechoslovak Socialism" (MONTHLY REVIEW, October 1969). We shall discuss three basic objections to it. First, Page reveals an ignorance of what Sik actually wrote. Second, he incorrectly describes the theory and practice of the reforms. Third, he gives a dubious evaluation of the democratization movement of 1968.

A Caricature of Ota Sik

We must look at what Page says Sik said, and what Sik *actually* said, on two issues: (1) plan versus market, and (2) moral versus material incentives.

According to Page, Sik says that "production must be based not on estimates of social needs but on consumer demand. The market is to take the place of planning as allocator of resources." In fact, Sik states: "Planned development of the national economy under socialism is indeed an objective necessity, a law." (*Plan and Market Under Socialism,* p. 106) Specifically, Sik attacks pure use of the market in several respects. First, he says that planners must consider the future, not the historical accidents of past and present supplies and demands. Second, planners must not pay attention to temporary fluctuations. Third, the major spheres of *social* need, such as health, education, culture, and research must be governed by nationwide political decisions, not individual consumer preferences. Sik favors use of the market mechanism only within the context and the goals of the social plan.

Oldrich Kyn is of the Charles University, Prague, and the University of California at Berkeley; Howard Sherman is of the University of California at Riverside.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

According to Page, Sik makes three interconnected points: "(1) Sik sees communism . . . as an extension of the basic form of the consumer-oriented system of production. . . . (2) This amounts to an acceptance of things and people as they are. (3) It is the substitution of a private, individual, selfish, incentive system . . . for the building of socialism and communism." On the first point, Sik speaks only of socialism, not communism, because the productive forces are not yet developed enough for communism; he would argue for moral incentives under communism. On the second point, rather than accepting things as they are, Sik favors changing "human nature" by socialist education, which would help people to "recognize these long-term goals" or social needs, and to direct people toward "a more consistent overcoming of the direct personal behavior that pursues only momentary gain." (*Plan and Market,* p. 197) On the third point, under socialism Sik's whole theory is an attempt to harmonize material and moral incentives by using the material incentives to channel people's initiatives toward social goals, which he calls "the social utilization of material interest." Sik argues that the material incentives under socialism are non-exploitative returns (unlike private profit under capitalism); and he does argue for the increasing use of moral incentives on the road to communism.

The Old System

The old economic system in Czechoslovakia introduced by Stalinism was a system of extreme centralization where the center not only did long-term planning, but also issued commands on every trivial economic decision within the enterprise. "Planning" should mean long-run guidance of the economy in accordance with social needs. But 95 percent of the "planning" work of the Central Planning Commission was merely day-to-day coordination of local decision-making on technology, output mixtures, and so forth. The Planning Commission had no time for real planning. The whole idea of the Czech reforms was to substitute the market for day-to-day coordination, while the central plan should carefully and fully set guidelines for the best path of social development.

Many Marxists had previously not taken the problems of the socialist economy seriously enough. Even Lenin had implied

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that central direction is easy, that it merely takes a little bookkeeping and accounting with no special knowledge. But the experience of the more industrially developed socialist countries in the 1950s and the early 1960s showed a quite different situation: (1) The central planners had to make millions of exceedingly complicated decisions. (2) There was an immense problem of information gathering and processing in order to make correct decisions concerning all of the million or more products produced. (3) In order to make correct decisions, the planners must have prices reflecting the objective economic conditions. But that is not the case if the planners themselves merely set prices arbitrarily. (4) The centralized system was too rigid, and the time lag in coordination was much too long to adapt to new conditions. (5) Managers were under great pressure to show quantitative results, and they often did so by illegal means or at the expense of quality. (6) Even when balance was maintained in the aggregate between supply and demand, it was impossible to maintain balance for each commodity. (7) The biggest problem was lack of technical progress. Since current inputs were rigidly fixed by the plan, it was difficult for an enterprise to innovate for at least a year or more (since technological change involves change of inputs). Furthermore, if a manager did show incentive to improve the productive process, he ran a risk of lower immediate returns during the transition, but he knew that in later years his planned quota would simply be raised as fast as, or faster than, he raised production. Certainly, also, there was no interest in producing better machines for other firms, since that did not mean better marks for one's own performance. (8) One result of the poor technical progress was that Czechoslovakia could not sell its goods in the competitive international market, so the balance of payments steadily worsened. This was especially true because the emphasis was on production and export of machines, where quality and rapid improvement is most important. (9) Income distribution appeared quite equal, but there was secret income to top Party functionaries, and there were many privileges to the whole elite group. Privileges of the elite included chauffeured cars, special housing, special shops where goods were plentifully supplied, and exclusive access to top administrative and managerial jobs. On the other hand, the masses had choice restricted in some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ways—for example, those working in agriculture were prevented from ever leaving agriculture.

The New System

The economic reforms were meant to correct some of these abuses and inefficiencies. To end overcentralization, the market was to coordinate current, day-to-day choices. The market would also generate more realistic prices so that there would be better information for both enterprises and central planners —for example, information on consumer preferences. If the market is to work, each enterprise must be free to set prices, and make choices of technology and product mix. Accordingly, the plan was not to determine most prices, but they were to be set competitively. Moreover, the manager must have an incentive to maximize the value of output and to minimize costs, with bonuses being set accordingly.

Monthly and annual plans with detailed commands to each enterprise were abolished in 1968. Instead, the central planners were told to make long-term plans on the basis of serious thinking about overall social goals. The plan would still choose the best future path on the basis of social preferences, including, for example, not only more production but elimination of smog. The central planners were not to give detailed commands to the firm, but were to set the overall strategy of development and guide the course of the whole economy according to social needs. In the new planning system, the central planners were to guide the economy by taxation and fiscal controls, monetary policy through the state banking system, wages and price controls, and partial regulation of foreign trade. Furthermore, the government remains the most important consumer, and directly makes contracts in many social areas (with power to force contracts, if need be, in some few but vital instances). Finally, but perhaps most important, really major investments in new projects would still be centrally planned.

Capitalism or Socialism

The new system was to decentralize economic decision-making down to the enterprise level, with managers or workers' collectives making the decisions; but with continued public ownership (and no individual profit-making) in almost all in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dustry. Thus, it still seems to fall within Sweezy's definition of socialism: "The *differentia specifica* of socialism as compared to capitalism is public ownership of the means of production . . . Those branches of the economy which are *decisive* for its functioning must be in . . . the 'public sector'." (MONTHLY REVIEW, October 1963, pp. 330-331) Even Page admits that "under Sik's plan . . . the state rather than private capital owns the means of production."

Page argues that it is not socialism because labor is still treated as a commodity in the market. That cannot be a serious objection, however, because not only the USSR but also China and Cuba still purchase labor on the market, despite the enlarged area of moral incentives in the latter two. Lastly, Page argues that "Sik's plan can hardly be called socialism" because enterprises can "determine the use of profits for reinvestment or distribution (albeit to employees rather than shareholders)." This is a more serious objection, but notice that the profits are *not* to be distributed to shareholders as a return to property holdings but only to the workers as bonuses for good work (within strictly regulated limits).

The idea was to have not only central government ownership but also to have collective workers' ownership in some areas. It was felt that central government ownership gave all power to planners and managers, whereas the new system would give more power to workers' collectives or workers' councils.

It would seem that rather than calling names, we should recognize that there is a variety of different socialist systems, with sub-species in China or Cuba quite different from those of Czechoslovakia or Hungary. There may be more or less use of central planning, of the market, of material or moral incentives, and of control by central bureaucrats or state-appointed managers or workers' councils. These differences relate partly to levels of economic development and partly to differing national cultures and other historical accidents.

Specifically, in Czechoslovakia even after the full reforms would be completed, the distribution of income would still have been much more equal than in the Soviet Union. There would still be no unearned income, only labor income. Even managers' bonuses were to be limited to 20-30 percent of salaries. And the secret income and most of the privileges of the elite were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abolished in 1968. Moreover, introduction of the market was not to be applied in areas where it might distort social needs, so it would *not* apply to health, education, cultural activities, or urban transport; and pollution would bring heavy penalties.

Political Democracy in Czechoslovakia

The entire world was excited by the Czechoslovak attempt to achieve a "socialism with a human face," a society both socialist and profoundly democratic, devoted to humanist ideals in contrast with the dehumanization of the Stalinist-type bureaucracy. On what grounds do the Stalinists attack the Czech experiment?

The traditional Stalinist argument was that there are no conflicts of interest in socialism because there is only one class, the working class, hence no need for a democratic expression of dissent on any issue. Everybody will be happy to follow the orders of a working-class government, everybody will be a willing cogwheel in the well-oiled machine. Anybody attacking such a working-class government on any issue must be a wrecker, leftover bourgeois, an imperialist spy (though Stalin also claimed that the class struggle intensifies under socialism, so these leftovers and spies must have been continually increasing). Of course, in Stalin's view, the interests and desires of the working class were represented by the interests and desires of the Communist Party, the Communist Party's views were expressed by the Stalinist faction, and the faction's views by Stalin. Since Stalin alone knew the interests and desires of the working class, it was quite clear that any criticism of comrade Stalin was unnecessary and actually treasonable to the working class.

The view that there are some conflicts of interest under socialism has been presented not only by the Czech reformers (for example, Ota Sik in *The Economy: Interests and Politics*, not available in English) but also with great force by Mao Tse-tung in his *On Contradictions Among the People*. Mao's thought provides the theoretical basis for a Marxist theory of the necessity of the widest political democracy under socialism—though one would not always recognize this in some of the "leftist" (?) statements and practice in China. Mao shows the different group interests at work (including the individual versus socialist society in any given short-run period).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In addition to Mao's long list of conflicts of interest such as those between workers and farmers, intellectual workers and manual workers, citizens and bureaucrats, we can also easily enumerate many concrete issues over which controversy may occur in any socialist representative assembly. Basically, not everyone will agree on what the "social preference" is in any specific decision. For example, what part of the national product should be given out in immediate consumption and what part reinvested for future increase of capacity to produce? What consumer goods should be produced? Within consumption, how much should be paid for by individuals, how much should be free to everyone? How much investment should be made in education? And in a divided world, how much should be spent on the military? Should agriculture be collective or state-owned? How much aid should be given to other countries, and to which ones? The questions are endless, and new ones continually arise.

Page says, specifically referring to Czechoslovakia, that most of the usual political freedoms are not "relevant" to the mass of people under socialism. Lest we misinterpret, a full quotation of the key passage is in order. He writes:

> To be sure, various freedoms were being called for or enacted, e.g., the freedom to travel, . . . ideological freedom, the freedom to organize clubs of "critical thinkers," an opposition press, and even (according to some reports) an opposition party. As in the West, these freedoms would in principle be available to all. The point is that, again as in the West, they are not equally relevant to the needs of all, nor do they include ways and means to create the social and economic conditions that might make them so. (p. 46)

This sounds very "radical" and "Marxist," but we may perhaps be forgiven if we take a few words to examine its premises and conclusions. The notion seems to be that all of these horrible (or at least irrelevant) freedoms are only a sham cover for exploitation ("as in the West"). Most ordinary workers will continue to have low incomes, no time for politics, and no political power. It sounds more as though he is talking about India or Nigeria rather than Czechoslovakia. Certainly it is true that in the underdeveloped countries today most political freedoms are not very relevant except as tools in the fight for a better life. But Czechoslovakia is a highly industrialized coun-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

try. This tells us that the income and leisure time of the ordinary worker are high enough to provide time for politics. Furthermore, the means of production are publicly owned, there is no private profit, rent, or interest on capital.

Naturally, the higher-income groups under socialism may exert somewhat more political power. That is unfortunate, but it is a fact. Furthermore, in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (and to a lesser but still significant degree in China) there is evidence that there is less than perfect social mobility, that income differences tend to be inherited. If nothing else, those who grow up in intellectual homes are more likely to obtain the background and motivation for college, so these children again have the highest educational qualifications. But these income differences are surely not a reason for declaring democratic freedoms irrelevant to the ordinary worker under socialism. On the contrary, democracy becomes a necessary form for the ordinary worker to assert himself.

The workers need free elections to be able to choose their own representatives rather than being ruled by a self-perpetuating elite. Everyone admitted that the previous elections in Czechoslovakia were farcical, not real. The 1968 reforms were intended to allow free elections. This could not be interpreted as anti-socialist, except in the sense that the old ruling clique would not be elected.

Page claims also that freedom of speech and press is irrelevant to the workers, and important only to intellectuals. But after censorship was abolished in Czechoslovakia, people stood in line to get papers, and they were all sold out by eight o'clock in the morning. Moreover, the new knowledge about the leaders was quickly put to use. Some of the old leaders could not even get elected as rank-and-file delegates to the Party Congress. Finally, the access to news and freedom of discussion led to the population's discussing, and even influencing, government policy for the first time. For example, foreign policy in support of Nigeria over Biafra and Egypt over Israel was furiously debated, and the sale of arms to Nigeria was ended.

In fact, in 1968 all reports (including those from most foreign Communist correspondents) indicated a vast increase in political participation by the working class. Not only were students active in exercising the new democratic freedoms

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but the hitherto sterile and bureaucrat-run trade unions suddenly came to life, and began to worry about the rights and interests of the workers. There were even spontaneous committees formed by the *workers* to protect the right of free speech. Moreover, there is next to no evidence (except in the Soviet press) that any large group was against socialism in Czechoslovakia. In fact, for the first time opinion polls were taken in Czechoslovakia, and they showed that, in spite of much dissatisfaction with the earlier political controls and repression, the vast majority were still in favor of "socialism."

Why does Page seem to think these democratic freedoms ("even an opposition party") are so anti-socialist or anti-Marxist? Marx (in *The Civil War in France*) held up the Paris commune as the best example of socialist democracy, of the dictatorship of the proletariat (and Lenin agreed in *State and Revolution*). But Marx specifically noted in the Commune the existence of many socialist parties, the fact that the Marxists were even a small minority, the fact that there were periodic elections and the right of immediate recall. Would it be so bad if there were several socialist parties representing different interests and different points of view in the present socialist countries? Only our indoctrination by years of Stalinist propaganda seems to have caused this to be accepted as "orthodox Marxism" among the Left.

Finally, we must speak of the interactions between the economic and political reforms. The Czechs introduced decentralization down to the enterprise level, and discussed the proposal for Workers' Councils as the basic decision-makers (and actually introduced some) not merely to eliminate centralized inefficiency but as a political reform. The basic point for most Czechs and most of the reformers was that such decentralization and workers' control would substitute the market for bureaucratic control, and would end the iron hand of the Party apparatus in all local decision-making (and would end the leaders' power to appoint anyone to important and well-paid local posts). By reducing centralized bureaucratic control, the local enterprises, the towns, and the average worker through the Workers Councils would have more economic (and political) power. It was viewed, if you wish to use that terminology, as a way of effec-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tively reducing the power of the "ruling class," and thus creating the economic and social conditions for more effective political democracy.

REPLY

By Benjamin B. Page

Because of the limited space usually allotted replies, I shall have to beg pardon for doing little more here than mentioning points that deserve fuller development.

(1) My concern was not with what Sik actually said so much as with the implications of the application of his proposals, and with the kind of society likely to result from them—a society very like our own: enterprise-dominated, growth- and profit-seeking, waste- and private consumer "affluence"-oriented; a society that suggests, in short, that Sik was operating with a model more like that of W. W. Rostow's "Non-Communist Manifesto"* than with anything that can be derived from Marx. Nothing that Kyn and Sherman say contradicts this contention.

(2) Efficient resource allocation and utilization are desiderata in any economic system. The question is how particular systems define "efficiency": efficiency in pursuit of which (or whose) interests or goals? Sik was urging the introduction into

---

Benjamin Page is at the Florida State University. He has dealt more fully with the topics covered here in his recently completed doctoral dissertation, *The Czechoslovak Reform Movement, 1963-1968: A Problem in the Theory of Socialism* (Florida State University, 1970).

* W. W. Rostow: *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge University Press, 1960).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Czechoslovak socialism of goals almost indistinguishable from those of contemporary managerial monopoly capitalism.

(3) Kyn and Sherman suggest for the plan a much greater role than does Sik. True, Sik states planned development to be a law. But later in the same section he describes the process of planning as one of continuous abstraction and generalization from the periphery (the enterprises) to the center (see pp. 122, 136). Together with Sik's insistence that only macroeconomic processes be planned (p. 144) and his proposal that enterprises be free to dispose of after-tax profits as they see fit, this suggests that in practice Sik's plan would amount to a summary of the interests of the various enterprises and a coordination of their expressed needs for raw materials, components, plant and equipment, labor, technological, scientific, and managerial expertise, etc. To the extent that Sik's plan included expenditures for major investment projects, education, health, transportation, vacation, retirement, etc., facilities and benefits, these would amount to the meeting at public expense of the infrastructural needs of the enterprises.

(4) Kyn and Sherman suggest that because no one can appropriate privately any enterprise profits, the profit-seeking ethos of capitalism can be avoided. The sharing by the workers in enterprise profits is given as further support of the suggestion. But if workers share a portion of enterprise profits along with technicians, administrators, etc., it seems highly likely that they will also acquire a vested interest in the profitable market performance of their employing enterprise. In fact this was Sik's intent, ostensibly in an effort to improve efficiency in production. The result of this inculcation of a profit-seeking ethos on the part of enterprises and all who work in them is likely to be a pattern of increasing income differentials among areas of the country, industries, enterprises, and even workers, much as has happened as a result of "decentralization" in Yugoslavia. And with this pattern, as in Yugoslavia, is likely to come differentiation in the range and quality of educational, health, and welfare services.

In other words, Sik's material incentives and the consumerism they presuppose would seem logically inconsistent with communism unless, as Sik does, one defines communism in terms of consumer affluence. (pp. 178-179) We have no way

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of verifying Kyn's and Sherman's contention that Sik would see moral incentives as operative under communism. Sik does tell us, however, that if conflicts arise between individual material interests and social interests ("because of erroneous economic management, especially the system of wage and salary payments") people will tend to act on the basis of the former, and moral appeals to the contrary "will not be very effective." (p. 203)

(5) Kyn and Sherman ask rhetorically about the grounds on which Stalinists attack the Czechoslovak economic reforms. There being no statement of Stalinist proclivities in my article, two possible inferences can be drawn from this question: Kyn and Sherman are trying either to write off my criticisms by identifying them with their account of the Stalinist approach or to suggest that any attempt to defend the concept of central planning is Stalinist. I shall deal with the latter, the more general inference, partly because it is also part of Sik's presentation.

The Stalinist model of central planning was historically the first attempt to plan national economic development on the basis of socialism. To reject the concept of central planning on the basis of the negative consequences of that model as applied throughout Eastern Europe or as clung to beyond the days of its greatest functionality in the USSR amounts to regarding the Stalinist model of central planning as some sort of paradigm or only possible model. For this there is no warrant, particularly today when computer technology and cybernetics offer the possibility of putting planning, complete with the crucial feedback factor, on a seriously scientific basis.

(6) Certainly there was no unified social interest in pre-1968 Czechoslovakia. On this point Sik is obviously correct, if unoriginal, except with respect to official Party pronouncements. But whereas Sik's policies would deepen economic and social differences and hence conflicts of interest, the efforts of the Maoists in China are in the opposite direction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AVAILABLE THIS MONTH

SIMULTANEOUS CLOTHBOUND AND PAPERBACK

The End of White World Supremacy / Four Speeches by Malcolm X

Edited by Benjamin Goodman

Here collected for the first time are four important and previously unpublished speeches by Malcolm X. They range in time from late 1962 to December 1963, and thus cover the all-important final year of Malcolm's affiliation with the Black Muslims. Included is the famous "God's Judgment of White America" speech delivered at Manhattan Center on December 3, 1963, which bore the subtitle "The Chickens Are Coming Home to Roost." It was this "undiplomatic" reference to the Kennedy assassination which prompted Elijah Muhammad to censor and suspend Malcolm and later led to their open break.

The opening speech, "Black Man's History," was delivered at Mosque No. 7 on December 23, 1962, and reveals Malcolm, as minister and teacher, as he was accustomed to speak to an all-black Muslim audience. It is a fascinating contrast to "The Black Revolution," a speech given at the Abyssinian Baptist Church—thus to a presumably all-Christian audience—just six months later, on June 23, 1963. "The Old Negro and the New Negro" was a recurring theme in Malcolm's thought. In this eloquent plea for black pride and self-reliance, Malcolm contrasts the "house Negro" and the "field Negro" of ante-bellum days and draws pregnant parallels for today between the attitudes of the two during the three centuries of the black man's enslavement in America. Together, these four major speeches cast new light on a man who, it is becoming increasingly clear with every passing day, must rank among the great leaders and teachers of his time.

The editor of this volume, Benjamin Goodman, was a close associate and collaborator of Malcolm X from 1957 until his death. As Benjamin 2X, he was for four years an assistant Minister of Temple Number 7 in Harlem, as well as the minister of mosques in several other cities. It was he who gave the opening address for Minister Malcolm X on December 23, 1962, prior to the latter's delivery of the first speech contained in this volume. It was Mr. Goodman who also "opened up" for Malcolm on that fateful afternoon in February 1965 when he was gunned down by assassins' bullets.

$6.00 (cloth)	CL1699
$1.95 (paper)	PB1702

50% discount for MR Associates. Enclose payment with order, add sales tax where applicable. (Canadian purchasers paying in Canadian currency, please add 5%.)

Published by Merlin House, Inc. / New York
Distributed by Monthly Review Press / New York / London

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

FROM WOBBLIES TO CIO

By Harvey O'Connor

Labor Radical: From the Wobblies to CIO: A Personal History, by Len De Caux. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970. 557 pp., $15.00.

This is an extraordinary book by an extraordinary person. It is the first comprehensive, honest, and analytic account of the rise and fall of the CIO, by one who observed and reported on that momentous uprising of the United States working class. As John L. Lewis's publicity man and later Philip Murray's, Len De Caux was present at the birth of the CIO and also witnessed from the inside its decline and absorption by the AFL. This "personal history," as De Caux subtitles his book, runs the gamut, from the heights of exhilaration as workers wrested their liberation from open shoppery to the depths of bureaucratic business unionism, as the CIO forced out the most energetic, militant members in obeisance to Cold-War anti-Communism.

De Caux brought exceptional credentials to both his job for the CIO and this account of twelve years in official service to his principles. Born in New Zealand of middle-class parents, educated at Harrow (one of the two prep schools in Britain for training the future rulers of Empire) and Oxford, he acquired not only a training in the classics but disdain for the British upper classes; both illuminate the grace and verve of his writing. Who,

---

Harvey O'Connor is the author of *Revolution in Seattle* and numerous other books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for instance, but an Oxonian could refer to the latter-day chair-borne bureaucrats of the CIO after Lewis, Hillman, and Murray had departed, as "epigones"? During his second year at Oxford, after dabbling in Independent Labor Party affairs, he helped in a bus drivers' strike. The proletarians were glad to have student support, but strictly on the fringe and never at the center. It dawned on De Caux that he could never hope to break through the class barriers in England, so he emigrated to the United States where, he was told, it was not difficult to become a bona fide workingman. After weeks of pavement-pounding in New York, he fainted in the street and his unconscious starving body was hauled off to Bellevue. Powers Hapgood, another upper-class man who had managed to turn coal miner, steered him along the road toward the working class by advising him to head West and ride the rods. This and other euphemisms of the migratory worker were far more foreign to De Caux than Greek, but he learned—first as a gandy dancer on the railroads, and then following the harvest from the States into Canada. Of course he joined the IWW (and the OBU in Canada) and became an authentic American workingman, crisscrossed the West, saw the decline of the IWW through the mechanization of the harvests and the incentive system in the woods, and the rise of the Communist Party.

Later, in Chicago, he worked in that city's basic industries—packing, steel, Western Electric, Great Lakes ships, in order to write firsthand accounts for *Industrial Solidarity,* the Wobbly paper. Briefly back in Britain to visit his parents, he joined the British Communist Party and then went on to Berlin, where the shadow of Nazism was already darkening the land.

On his return, Carl Haessler, the managing editor of Federated Press (a labor news service) and mentor of many a rising young labor reporter, steered him to Oscar Ameringer's *Illinois Miner,* the official UMW paper in that state. Ameringer was an old-line Socialist who claimed he was illiterate but nevertheless wrote some of the wittiest and most incisive columns in U.S. labor journalism under the nom de plume of Adam Coaldigger. The Illinois miners carried on unceasing warfare on the UMW's national despot, John L. Lewis. After several years De Caux went to Cleveland to work under Albert Coyle, editor of the *Locomotive Engineers Journal.* In a book laden with amusing anecdotes, De Caux exceeds himself in describing the zany atmosphere surrounding Coyle, a "Peter Pan," certainly one of the most curious characters in the labor press. One of his Peter Pan aspects was that, while running a progressive labor journal, he helped organize

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scab "cooperative" mines in West Virginia for the Engineers, much to the disgust of President Lewis of UMW. While in Cleveland, De Caux met Jay Lovestone, who was organizing trade-union delegations to the Soviet Union in 1927-1928. Lovestone, then secretary of the CPUSA, could readily have stood in for a *Chicago Tribune* caricature of a Communist—"conspiratorial, devious, factional, chockful of ulterior motives"—spending most of his time conspiring against other party leaders.

Tiring of the dour Engineers and Coyle's ambivalence, De Caux went to Washington in 1930, at Carl Haessler's request, to serve as Federated Press correspondent there. He was in the nation's capital during the hectic NRA days of FDR's New Deal, covering politics, which he distrusted. Contacts with the working class were few and far between, aside from AFL conventions, and even there, among the opulent leaders of labor, the working class was definitely on the fringe. But a storm was brewing in the boondocks, workers were striking, sitting-down and sitting-in, and beginning to win toeholds in basic industries, despite the AFL. The crisis came at the 1935 convention where Lewis had been meeting with leaders of the new local unions. Lewis saw the storm coming, succeeded in reorganizing the shattered UMW, and was willing to ride the whirlwind. The climax came, symbolically, when huge hulking Lewis punched big-bellied Hutcheson, emperor of the Carpenters, in the nose. Lewis had crossed a bloody Rubicon.

The newborn CIO needed a structure, and Lewis appointed his erstwhile union enemy, John Brophy, as CIO director. In an odd incident, Brophy, looking for a public relations man, hit on De Caux, then with Federated Press. He consulted Lewis who asked, Who is this man? Federated Press, replied Brophy. A long O-o-oh from Lewis. And before that? With the Locomotive Engineers. That scab-herding outfit! And what else? Well, he was with the *Illinois Miner* (which had been a devoted enemy of John L. for many a year). After a big explosion, Lewis subsided. OK! Any stick to beat the devil—such was his attitude in the nascent years of the CIO.

After the GM sitdown victory and the Lewis-Myron Taylor deal that set up the steelworkers' union, CIO was a going concern. In vivid chapters De Caux relates the formation of unions from below—Auto, Maritime, Oil, Electrical, West Coast Longshoremen; and from the top down—Steel and Textiles.

A principal focus of this book is on the role of the Left in the creation of the CIO. What was the Left? Communists schooled

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the Unemployed Councils and the TUEL unions of pre-CIO days, and workers radicalized by the depression into a healthy anti-boss defiance, and hungry men and women without particular ideology determined never again to endure such oppression.

It was all very well to set up the Steelworkers' headquarters in a posh Pittsburgh skyscraper, but where were the organizers to be found who could do the tough job in steel towns terrorized by the coal and iron police? Lewis and Murray were obliged to turn to the Left for organizers; after the hard work was done, of course the lefties were kicked out.

De Caux ponders the problem: were most of the CIO unions condemned to sign yellow-dog contracts with capitalism, "to discipline the workers, assuage the class struggle, and solve many personnel problems?" The CIO Left, he concludes, might seem to have failed. "It was ruthlessly purged in a period of fantastic, factitious anti-red hysteria. Seen in longer perspective, it succeeded phenomenally in exerting leadership within a labor movement carefully barred to radical influence. For more than a decade, the CIO Left had a strong voice in top policy and throughout the ranks. It helped carry the labor struggle to heights of progressive purpose hardly matched before or since." And of course the UE and West Coast Longshoremen persisted, despite the purge.

It was this idea that unions should be independent of government that animated Lewis in 1939-1940 in his war with Roosevelt, his creation of an independent political arm in the CIO, his alliances with student, black, and professional groups, and finally the rather dreadful endorsement of Wendell Willkie. After that dismal national radio hook-up, he and De Caux went into an almost deserted Childs for coffee and what must have been a most funereal conversation, for the speech marked Lewis's decision to resign as the CIO's president.

Outstanding are De Caux's character sketches of the leading figures in labor—from Right to Left. An entire chapter and parts of others are devoted to Sidney Hillman, FDR's man in the CIO. Despite the author's distaste for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers chief, he pays tribute to Hillman for his leading role in creating the World Federation of Trade Unions, doomed to be split so soon after his death. "Sometimes all Hillman's elements worked in unison. He could be 'high'—exhilarated, intoxicated, not by the alcohol he didn't need but by some inner har-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mony. I saw moments like that in early CIO, again in PAC, and at Paris [WFTU]. I doubt he had any when he led the red-baiting Right in CIO against Lewis and the Left. Then he looked disturbed, not at peace with himself."

As for Lewis, De Caux could not forget his magnificent years when he helped to forge the CIO, leading millions of the exploited into unions tough enough to exact a better life from the class enemy. As for the years before, and the years after, De Caux sadly concludes the giant had feet of clay. The portrayal of other labor figures also represents in-depth appraisal at its best. After detailing Walter Reuther's ruthless climb to power, De Caux concludes: "I found him genuine with a rare consistency—the most single-minded, sincere, and dedicated Reutherite I ever knew." Joe Curran, Phil Murray, Mike Quill, and a host of luminaries—CIO, AFL, Communists, heroes, renegades, bureaucrats—come alive again as the author relives his dramatic years.

From the start De Caux himself was under constant sniper fire from the Right. When Lewis resigned, it was assumed that his publicity man would be swept out, but Murray refused to accept his resignation. He was saved a year later when the Nazis invaded Russia and the Left-Right split in the CIO was patched over for the nonce. When Murray finally succumbed to the insistent right-wingers and the purge of left-wing unions began in 1947, De Caux was through. Murray asked for his resignation because he was "not satisfied." Too red? asked his editor. "No, no, no. I'm not concerned with a man's thoughts or beliefs." Still trying, not too well, to walk the tightrope on which he had balanced for seven of the post-Lewis years.

The central point of this book is the baleful use of anti-Communism to divide workers on current actions which have nothing to do with Communism, thus employing their time and energy fighting each other, and finally destroying an independent labor movement. Right-wingers of all shades—social democrats, liberals, renegade leftists, gangsters, and those of no discernible principles—all used the anti-Communist club to defame those on the Left and to feed latent prejudices among many workers. The monument to their success is the present leadership of the AFL-CIO, castrated and corrupted, fervid apologists for genocide in Southeast Asia, disrupters of labor unity on all the continents.

After he left CIO, De Caux knocked on many doors for a job, but all were closed. Erstwhile friends offered sympathy but couldn't afford to stick their necks out. Disgusted, he cranked up

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his old auto and criss-crossed the country, talking to workers—Antaeus renewing his faith by touching earth, after years in the Washington bureaucracy. Eventually he trained himself as an all-around printer, sheltered by his union and at last more or less secure financially from the power of the FBI, the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee, and the Un-American Activities Committee, all of which hounded him for years after his departure from the CIO.

Union members can avoid the outrageous $15 price tag on this book by ordering from the publisher, Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Massachusetts, 02108, at half price, $7.50.

THE PRESS AND THE COLD WAR

By Alexander L. Crosby

The Press and the Cold War by James Aronson. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970. 308 pp., $8.

James Aronson, who knows the press inside and out, from right to left, has quietly written a shocking book. Anyone who wishes to understand the United States leadership in prosecuting the Cold War and its hot eruptions must read the evidence and conclusions presented by this scholarly newspaperman. But Aronson goes further than his title. He has given a powerful and exciting account of the way unpublished events happen in the newspaper business.

The population of the United States is frightfully ignorant in areas where ignorance is fatal. The citizen who can fluently discuss the technicalities of snowmobiles and motorboats knows

Alexander L. Crosby was a newspaperman in New York and New Jersey. He has been a free-lance writer since 1944.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

little more about foreign affairs than does the village idiot who sits on a folding chair and plays with a yoyo all day long.

The citizen and the idiot are both enjoying life, the more so because they are not much informed or concerned about what's happening in Cambodia or Chile. The main idea is to keep the Commies from taking over the world we are trying to run. And the men in Washington know how to do that, even if they make a mistake every now and then.

The folly, lust, and incompetence of the men in Washington have been documented abundantly in books—but Americans read far fewer books than do the Japanese, the English, the Norwegians, and other more literate peoples. Hence the job of informing is left mainly to the newspapers and to television. The failures (and occasional achievements) of television need not be discussed. The failures of the press are monumental and designed. They could become catastrophic.

The Cold War did not begin in 1946, Aronson says, but in March 1918, when the Soviets signed a treaty with Germany and withdrew from a war the Russian people did not want. The American press has been blindly and often hysterically anti-Communist ever since. President Wilson responded to the start of the campaign against the Red Menace by sending American troops into Russia to crush the Bolsheviks.

How the New York *Times* covered the infancy of the Soviet Union was reported by Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz (later editor of the *Times*) in the *New Republic* in 1920. Aronson summarizes:

> In the first two years of the Soviet Union, Merz and Lippmann found, the *Times* had reported the government collapsing 91 times; Petrograd toppled six times; on the verge of capture three times more; burned to the ground twice; in a state of absolute panic twice; in revolt against the Bolsheviki six times; and in a state of starvation constantly. The victories of the White armies were enormous . . . and the casualty figures and captured weapons totals were many times larger than the armies and materiel in all of Russia. The compilators simply added up the *Times* figures to reach that conclusion.

Once our wartime partnership with the Soviet Union was ended, the second phase of the Cold War was launched by Winston Churchill and Harry S. Truman, with unstinting cooperation from the press. Aronson cites figures from the National Opinion Research Center to show how the American public was changed from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a belief in peace to a belief in war. At the end of 1945, only 32 percent expected another world war within 25 years. But a year later 46 percent foresaw war, and by the end of 1947 the figure was 63 percent. By March 1948, 73 percent thought a third war was inevitable. In just over two years the believers in peace were reduced from 68 percent to 27 percent.

The Press and the Cold War is superbly documented and fascinating to read. Aronson puts life into every topic he chooses, including many that oldtimers have forgot and the young have rarely heard of. One example is his report on the founding of the Progressive Party and Henry A. Wallace's campaign for the presidency in 1948. The Pittsburgh *Press* published the names of voters who had signed petitions to put the new party on the ballot, suggesting that the FBI check them. Newspapers in other states copied the *Press*. The founding convention of the Progressives, held in Philadelphia, was ridiculed and redwashed throughout the country.

Wallace was supported by 0.1 percent of the press. He and his running mates were the constant targets of egg-throwers and hecklers. The House Un-American Activities Committee summoned campaign workers to its perennial inquisition. The newspapers persuaded millions that the Progressive Party was the voice of the Soviet Union.

But the press did not report one weird sequel, in March 1949, to its systematic promotion of the Red Menace. In Hobe Sound, Florida, a man heard a fire siren in the middle of the night. He ran into the streets, screaming: "The Red Army has landed!" Apprehended, he was flown to the Naval Hospital at Bethesda, Maryland, where he jumped to his death two months later. The terrified citizen was James V. Forrestal, the first Secretary of Defense.

Thoughtful and informed citizens have learned to put no faith in the lofty pretensions of the press, just as they no longer believe the president of the United States. They expect the newspapers to be hostile to peace, hostile to labor, hostile to any cause that can be labeled leftwing, hostile to any change in the status quo. Yet even those who recognize this bias will be staggered by the overpowering evidence that Aronson has assembled.

He tells how the newspapers helped to convict Alger Hiss; how they speeded the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; how they failed in the Korean War, the Bay of Pigs, and Vietnam, thus contributing to a terrible toll of unnecessary deaths. He points out that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was elevated to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fame by a press that excused itself by saying a United States senator could not be ignored, but did ignore him as soon as he wore out his usefulness to the establishment.

Aronson has unique qualifications for appraising the press. He has worked for the Boston *Transcript,* the New York *Herald Tribune,* the New York *Post,* and the New York *Times.* He was trained by the army in 1945 as a press control officer to set up democratic newspapers in Germany. He was editor of *Frontpage,* the monthly publication of the Newspaper Guild of New York. In 1948, together with Cedric Belfrage and the late John T. McManus, he founded the *National Guardian,* a vigorously dissenting weekly, of which he was editor for nineteen years. A beautiful writer, he has never learned to make small compromises—let alone large ones—with principle. He is unfit for employment by any commercial newspaper.

What hope lies ahead? Aronson is not despondent. He says that many journalists who "had served dutifully in the army of Cold War journalism seem to have seen the light." Some hawks have decided the war in Vietnam is hopeless; other writers are warning against a recurrence of McCarthyism. But he warns:

> The Cold War was not an aberration from the norm of United States policy, and McCarthyism was not an isolated phenomenon. The one was in service of the other. Both have been ground into the American consciousness, and it remains to be seen whether the seemingly repentant journalists have in reality understood their own role; whether they will join with the dissenters in the critical 1970s, or whether they will revert to silence and acquiescence "in the national interest" when the next crisis arises.
>
> Despite my grave doubt that the press of the country is willing to reform itself, I remain a realistic optimist about journalism. I believe that there is in the United States a company of honest journalists of all ages, conscious of the potential power of an informed people, who will never give up the effort to establish an honorable communications network.

Aronson is right about the "company of honest journalists." The trouble is they don't own the newspapers and they have scant influence on the policies of the publishers, which are not a chasm removed from the outlook of, say, Martha Mitchell.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Current Trends in Asia

The Ministerial Conference for the Economic Development of Southeast Asia, meeting in 1969, asked the Asian Development Bank for a report on the economic outlook for the 1970s. The resulting study on Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia was published early in 1971. At the same time the Commission for Social Development of the United Nations' Economic and Social Council conducted an economic survey of the social situation of Asia. The two studies present some disturbing conclusions.

There is much national planning in Asia, confined largely to economic fields, which fails to deal with basic trends such as the growing disparity between the more and the less advanced segments of Asian society.

Efforts to establish a "classless" society in Asia are being offset by increasing numbers of entrepreneurs, bureaucrats, professionals, and technicians who are paid much higher incomes than the majority of Asians. This managerial intelligentsia is developing into an upper-middle class that monopolizes educational and job opportunities. The income gap between this class and the manual workers is smaller in the countries building socialism, particularly in present-day China. Everywhere in Asia, however, it is an outstanding aspect of the social order.

Asia, in terms of economic well-being, is still the poorest of the developing regions. People in Southeast Asia have higher per capita incomes than those in Southwest Asia.

Rapid population growth and movement from the countryside into the cities have led to widespread unemployment, fierce

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

competition for jobs, and a sharp decline in urban living standards among the poorest third of the population.

As Asian society turns rapidly away from its predominantly rural structure and devotes its energies increasingly to commerce, industry, transportation, and finance, more and more people are being uprooted. A long-established caste society is becoming more and more fluid, restless, unstable and violently changeful.

These adverse economic and social developments are not the result of earthquake, flood, or other natural disaster. Rather they are the consequence of social forces operating within the Asian social structure. Against this background of economic and social disarray the political outlook is anything but reassuring.

Remnants of the erstwhile British Empire in Asia were represented at the recent Singapore Commonwealth Conference, which was swamped by protests against the British program of supplying additional arms to the racist government of South Africa. Clever footwork saved the conference from disaster, but no effective steps were taken to heal the wounds left by the controversy in the structure of the British Commonwealth.

Western Asia, at its junction with Eastern Europe and North Africa, is a long-established crossroads of the three continents. The break-up of the Turkish Empire left the area a power vacuum occupied by warring tribes, kingdoms, and states. Immense oil reserves have made the area the source of a steady flow of petroleum into the hungry markets of West Europe. Europeans were interested not only as consumers but as investors. For a time it seemed possible for the welter of local sovereignties occupying West Asia to use the "black gold" of the region as an economic base for an Arab League, that could squeeze out the imperialists and set up a bastion strong enough to hold the West at bay.

One can imagine the shrewd Mr. Arthur Balfour looking about for a political solution that would keep West Asia divided and weak, while imperialists pumped out the oil. His diplomatic acumen discovered the answer: a Jewish homeland, located in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arab territory, on the shore of the Christian Holy Land. The project was officially launched in 1948. It has fulfilled the fondest dreams of its sponsors by creating a center of controversy and conflict that promises to keep West Asia and North Africa in turmoil into an indefinite future.

Similarly disruptive has been the India-Pakistan confrontation. Launched as an example of the "divide and dominate" formula, the splitting of India along ostensibly religious lines has done its share in keeping Asia divided and disrupted.

One of the longest boundary lines on the planet separates the Soviet Union from People's China. For a decade, from 1950 to 1960, the two countries cooperated closely. During the next decade they began an ideological and political feud that at its height came close to open warfare. The acute crisis has been left behind, but even now the two big countries are hardly on speaking terms.

Southeast Asia continues to be the hottest spot on the continent. Between 1943 and 1954 the British, French, Dutch, and Japanese were driven out, leaving a major power vacuum that might have been kept open or filled by the nearest superpower, the Chinese, had not a series of United States leaps across the Pacific, through Japan, into Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam resulted in the occupation of the entire area by Washington's sea, air, and land military forces. Since 1898 this expansive drive has been under way. Within recent months the Vietnam war has spread into Laos and Cambodia, making Southeast Asia the planet's most formidable battlefield and threatening to spill over into neighboring territory.

At war's end in 1945, the Japanese Empire lay in ruins. Another decade, and China, Indonesia, and India were following roads which leaders in all three countries declared to be socialism. Today India is muddling along between its public and its private economic sectors. Indonesia is now a United States sponsored military dictatorship. China has been overturned by its Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Only the Soviet Union has preserved a measure of stability and continuity.

South of the Soviet Union's border, present-day Asia is restless, insecure, chaotic, and plagued by endemic or open warfare. It is the victim of imperial aggression, internal dissension, disintegration, and revolutionary upsurge.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another Election in India

I have had the opportunity to be in India during three nation-wide elections: Nehru's effort to retain some measure of Gandhiism in Indian national life; years later, his daughter Indira Gandhi's attempt to hold the Indian Congress Party together after Shastri's death; and the present 1971 election called by Mrs. Gandhi a year before the mandate of her government had run out. With a split Congress, Mrs. Gandhi's majority faction felt that her chances of an electoral success would be better in 1971 than in 1972.

As an outsider I have the feeling that the 1971 election centers more on Indira Gandhi's personality than it does on her program. Strained relations with Pakistan, widespread disapproval of Washington's no-war in Southeast Asia, and the future status of India's former rajas and maharajas provide newspaper headlines but afford little opportunity for the political spellbinders, of which India has more than a fair share.

Two major political groups face one another in the present campaign—the more liberal elements of the former Congress Party (led by Mrs. Gandhi) and the conservative Congress Party wing, allied with the more conservative elements of the present Indian scene. The early days of the campaign have been largely occupied in tearing down and rebuilding political fences and quarreling over election symbols, rather than debating campaign issues.

Unemployment and the desperate poverty so prevalent in India are not real issues in the campaign. Indians seem to take unemployment and poverty for granted. Theoretically, Indians generally favor their elimination but see no practical way of achieving this result so long as existing wage-rates, prices, and job opportunities remain at their present levels. Similarly overlooked are the strident linguistic and religious differences and the evident inability of the Indian bureaucracy to bring public sector enterprises (like the railroads, the post office, and some of the major industries) to a level of efficient performance that would make Indians proud of their government and of its efforts to prove beyond question the superiority of public sector enterprises over those of the private sector.

There is no present indication that Indian leaders will discuss seriously unemployment, poverty, deep cultural cleavages,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bureaucratic inefficiency, and corruption during the present political campaign, nor is there any indication that they will present a remedial program. If this judgment turns out to be accurate, India after the election will occupy much the same position that it occupied before this expensive time-and money-consuming sham battle.

Cooperative Farming in Albania

Albanian cooperative farms, like Albanian volunteer labor groups, have proved their worth in building socialism and promoting cooperation as a dominant aspect of Albanian life. At the same time, these omnipresent social forces are still fluid and changing. They have not been crystallized or finalized.

The Cooperative "Enver Hoxha," in the village of Zharrez, which I visited in December 1970, is one of the oldest co-op farms in Albania. It was organized in 1948, with only 20 families. Today it contains more than 700 families, divided into work brigades. The cooperative farmed 2,200 hectares during the current season. Among the crops were 550 hectares of cotton, 650 hectares of wheat, 80 hectares of sunflowers, 280 hectares of corn, and 100 hectares of beans.

Beside these chief field crops, the Hoxha Co-op raises vegetables for its members and keeps bees. In the current season, it raised its first crop of sweet potatoes from seed secured in China by the co-op manager, Lumturi Durro, a young woman agronomist trained in China.

The cooperative has four trained agronomists and three veterinarians, four technicians trained in general agriculture, and three in zoology.

Between 1960 and 1970 the Enver Hoxha Cooperative multiplied its yield of major farm crops by five and doubled its output of milk. They have 500 cows, 1,000 sheep, 500 pigs, 5,000 chickens and 2,000 ducks.

When the Hoxha Cooperative was established there was only one general school in the area, illiteracy being 95 percent. Today there are day-nurseries, kindergartens, five elementary schools, and three advanced schools, staffed by forty teachers.

The Hoxha Cooperative operates a shop for vegetables and produce and several small workshops which produce conserves and other items needed by the co-op families.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Every family in the co-op has a newly-built house. When young people marry, they are helped to build a house. They can live separately, "have a chimney of their own," and raise their own families in their own home atmosphere. They may also use the public dining rooms.

Hoxha Co-op is pioneering a new development in Albanian co-operative farming by "balancing their economy" with another cooperative located in the mountains twenty kilometers from the Hoxha enterprise. Hoxha land lies in the valley; the mountain cooperative with which they propose to "balance" by exchanging products, livestock and services, contains 350 families and is located in a fruit-growing belt. Throughout Albania there is a general movement to link up lowland and mountain cooperative farms and share their divergent products.

Albanian cooperating farmers tell visitors proudly that both hunger and servitude have disappeared from the countryside. Education is general and free. Public health services are available for everyone. There is no more malaria. A new and better day has dawned for the Albanian people, and it is socialism in practice that has made the transformation possible.

Not Peace but Fire-Power

U.S. News & World Report printed a map showing Washington's military bases ringing the planet, under this headline: "To Keep the Peace, G.I.'s on Duty Around the World." What monstrous nonsense! After Hiroshima, Dresden, and Mylai!

G.I.'s are trained and equipped with bombers, napalm, and defoliants to broadcast terror, destruction, and death. They are no more peace-keepers than burglars are protectors of private property. G.I.'s are destroyers who burn and kill as a matter of professional routine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXII

Author	*Title*	*No.*	*Page*
Abdelgalil, I. H. and M. H. Ibrahim	Correspondence: *On "World Events" and Israel*	2	38
Barnett, Don and Albert Ciria	Correspondence: *On the Struggle at Simon Fraser*	8	46
Baron, Harold	*Kolko on American Foreign Policy: A Review*	5	38
Belden, Jack	*Sex and Revolution*	4	47
Bettelheim, Charles	*Economic Inequalities Between Nations and International Solidarity*	2	19
	More on the Society of Transition	7	1
Boggs, Grace Lee	*Education: The Great Obsession*	4	18
Bottomore, Tom	Correspondence: *On the Struggle at Simon Fraser*	8	45
Briemberg, Mordecai and Bill Livant	Correspondence: *More on the Crisis in Canada*	10	52
Brun, Ellen	*North Korea: A Case of Real Development*	2	25
Buhle, Paul	*The Wobblies in Perspective: A Review*	2	44
Castillo, Otto René	*Apolitical Intellectuals*	2	54
Ciria, Albert and Don Barnett	Correspondence: *On the Struggle at Simon Fraser*	8	46
Clairmonte, Frederick F.	*Decline and Fall of the Spanish Empire: A Review*	6	44
Correspondent, A	*Chile: September 4 to November 3*	8	19
Crosby, Alexander L.	*The Press and the Cold War: A Review*	11	52
Daubier, Jean	*The Chinese Cultural Revolution*	5	31
Derber, Charles	*Terrorism and the Movement*	9	36
El Kodsy, Ahmad	*Nationalism and Class Struggles in the Arab World*	3	All
Emmanuel, Arghiri	*The Delusions of Internationalism*	2	13
Gates, Jane	Correspondence: *The Hué Killings*	2	13
Gough, Kathleen	Correspondence: *On the Struggle at Simon Fraser*	8	51
	Sexual Politics: A Review	9	47
	The Struggle at Simon Fraser University	1	31
Gurley, John G.	*Capitalist and Maoist Economic Development*	9	15
Hersh, Jacques	*"Welfare State" and Social Conflict*	6	29
Horn, Joshua S.	*Hospitals in China*	11	12

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Author	*Title*	*No.*	*Page*
Hornstra, L.	*On the Nuclear Family—Pro*	1	46
Hughes, Glyn	*Preconditions of Socialist Development in Africa*	1	11
Ibrahim, M. H. and I. H. Abdelgalil	Correspondence: *On "World Events" and Israel*	2	38
Kyn, Oldrich and Howard Sherman	*Socialism and Democracy in Czechoslovakia*	11	34
Lange, Oskar	*On the Policy of Transition*	8	38
Livant, Bill and Mordecai Briemberg	Correspondence: *More on the Crisis in Canada*	10	52
Loney, Martin	*U.S. Imperialism in Canada: A Review*	5	53
Magdoff, Harry	*Foreword to "Nationalism and Class Struggles in the Arab World"*	3	iii
	Correspondence: *Reply to F. Stirton Weaver*	6	53
	See also *Review of the Month*		
Marx, Karl	*The Productivity of Crime*	7	38
MR Reader	Correspondence: *Crisis in Canada*	7	52
Nearing, Scott	See *World Events*		
O'Connor, Harvey	*From Wobblies to CIO: A Review*	11	47
Ofari, Earl	*Marxism, Nationalism, and Black Liberation*	10	18
Ortiz, Bobbye	*On the Nuclear Family—Con*	1	50
Page, Benjamin B.	*Reply to Kyn and Sherman*	11	43
Retamar, Roberto Fernández	*To Vietnam*	10	57
Review of the Month	*Chile: Peaceful Transition to Socialism?*	8	1
	Economic Stagnation and Stagnation of Economics	11	1
	The Future of Socialism (by Paul M. Sweezy)	10	9
	The Impact of U.S. Foreign Policy on Underdeveloped Countries (by Harry Magdoff)	10	1
	Is Imperialism Really Necessary? (by Harry Magdoff)		
	Part I	5	1
	Part II	6	1
	The Lessons of Poland	9	1
	The Long-Run Decline in Liquidity	4	1
	More on the Society of Transition (by Charles Bettelheim)	7	1
	Reply (to Charles Bettelheim) (by Paul M. Sweezy)	7	14
	War and Crisis	2	1
	The War Spreads	1	1
Robinson, Joan	Correspondence: *More on the International Flow of Funds*	10	55
	The Relevance of Economic Theory	8	29

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rubinstein, Annette T.	*Teaching and Learning in City Schools: A Review*	5	47
Salper, Roberta	*Literature and Revolution in Cuba*	5	15
Selden, Mark	*Okinawa in the American Empire*	10	35
Sherman, Howard and Oldrich Kyn	*Socialism and Democracy in Czechoslovakia*	11	34
Stein, Barbara H. and Stanley J.	*The Colonial Heritage of Latin America*	4	40
Stetler, Russell	*Northern Ireland: From Civil Rights to Armed Struggle*	6	12
Sweezy, Paul M.	*Foreword to "Nationalism and Class Struggles in the Arab World"*	3	iii
	On the Teaching of Marxian Economics	11	31
	Correspondence: *Reply to F. Stirton Weaver*	6	53
	See also *Review of the Month*		
Vallières, Pierre	*White Niggers of America*	7	41
Weaver, F. Stirton	Correspondence: *On the International Flow of Funds*	6	52
World Events		In every issue except 3	
Yurick, Sol	*The Political Economy of Junk*	7	22

BOOKS REVIEWED

Author	*Title*	*No.*	*Page*
Aronson, James	*The Press and the Cold War*	11	52
Conlin, Joseph R.	*Big Bill Haywood and the Radical Union Movement*	2	44
	Bread and Roses Too	2	44
De Caux, Len	*From the Wobblies to CIO*	11	47
Dubofsky, Melvyn	*We Shall Be All*	2	44
IWW	*The Founding Convention of the IWW: Proceedings*	2	44
Kolko, Gabriel	*The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy 1943-1945*	5	38
	The Roots of American Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Power and Purpose	5	38
Leacock, Eleanor Burke	*Teaching and Learning in City Schools*	5	47
Lumsden, Ian, ed.	*Close the 49th Parallel Etc.*	5	53
Millett, Kate	*Sexual Politics*	9	47
Naipaul, V. S.	*The Loss of El Dorado: A History*	6	44

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(*Continued from inside front cover*)

difficult material worthwhile. Many of the letters telling us about the importance of MR come from prisoners. Here is an excerpt from the most recent such letter, from a black prisoner whose identity and place of imprisonment we are obviously not free to reveal: "I am Political Awareness Chairman here in this institution and your articles serve to broaden my spectrum on world events from a factual viewpoint and I feel a dire and sincere need for your magazine which I've come to regard wholeheartedly as mine. . . . Also, if at all possible, will you forward me any information as to where I can acquire lesson plans and articles that will serve to heighten not only myself, also my associates' awareness of world events and their significance to a caste system."

These comments should naturally not be taken as a sign of disinterest on our part in criticism and suggestions from MR readers. We need your critical reactions and suggestions.

One of the gratifying things about editing MR is the large correspondence it brings from all over the world. Some of this has to do with material submitted and/or accepted for publication in the magazine or by the Press. But there is much more—requests for help in writing dissertations or course papers, manuscripts to read and criticize, requests for advice on the best university for graduate work in Marxian economics (answer: there isn't any) or Latin American studies, etc., etc. We would like to be able to answer all our correspondents fully and carefully, and we try to do what we can. But the smallness of our staff and the pressure of other work are such that our practice often leaves much to be desired. Please be patient (sometimes we answer after a considerable delay) or forgiving as the case may be, and don't let our shortcomings as correspondents deter you from writing or making requests. Sometimes if we can't help, we can refer you to someone who can.

A letter we definitely did not fail to answer was a request from a 102½ year old reader to be taken off a special free subscription list, because she felt that she was coming "to the end of the trail" and that the time had come for a final farewell. Sybil May replied:

"In the May 1969 issue of MONTHLY REVIEW there appeared this first paragraph in 'Notes from the Editors':

" 'We recently received from a California subscriber the following letter: "It is with deep regret that I must ask you to take me off your subscription roll, where I have been for so many years and with such profit. I am now 100 years and 8 months old and my eyes are failing. Also inflation is robbing me rapidly of financial independence. Believe me, I shall miss passing MR on to the younger generation as they are more than ever in need of the kind of knowledge it gives." We replied that we certainly would *not* take her off the sub list, that from now on she would receive MR free, and that we hoped she would continue passing her copies on to the younger generation. Let us add that we would be honored to put any other subscribers reaching 100 on the free list.'

"Now, less than two years later, you write us that 'the time has come for me to bid you a final farewell.'

"But the editors and staff of MR are very reluctant to accept this final farewell. They have asked me to tell you that they would like to continue to send you MR until the P.O. returns the magazine to us.

"You write that maybe MR will succeed in changing the world which your mother and you felt was growing from bad to worse. Such hope and faith are very heartening to us. So don't ask us to say farewell until there is no escape from this sad word."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now in paperback

STRATEGY FOR REVOLUTION: ESSAYS ON LATIN AMERICA / RÉGIS DEBRAY

Edited and introduction by Robin Blackburn

"Debray's Latin American essays, combining as they do brilliant first-hand reporting, subtle and original intellectual analysis and a high degree of personal commitment, are, for all their many weaknesses, essential reading for those who wish to understand the Latin American revolutionary movements of the 1960s—and, perhaps, the 1970s."—*Times Literary Supplement* (London).

". . . a first-rate volume. . . . Many of the essays here will be new to English readers, and to have them within the scope of a single book makes one realise anew what an immense contribution Debray has made to our understanding of contemporary Latin America. His erudition is astonishing . . . Even if he had not become an important revolutionary theorist, his writings would have an independent life of their own possessing a literary merit and a penetrating insight that are entirely absent in the world of run-of-the-mill academics."—*The Guardian* (London).

ARMED STRUGGLE IN AFRICA / GERARD CHALIAND

". . . a thrilling book . . . the description of the activities of the liberation forces and of Amilcar Cabral's party is an admirable presentation of the why and how of *maquisard* successes."—*Le Nouvel Observateur.*

"More than a remarkably detailed reportage of the daily life of a guerrillero, this is both a study based on precise economic and political data and a technical treatise on a specific form of combat."—*L'Express.*

". . . a succinct anatomy of one African model of guerrilla warfare. Chaliand is well qualified to write on comparative guerrilla warfare."—*Africa Report.*

INDIA INDEPENDENT / CHARLES BETTELHEIM

"Many books have been written on various aspects of this subject but this is one of the better ones . . . comprehensive in coverage. . . ."—*Library Journal.*

"[Bettelheim] was writing [in 1962] well before events in India reached the tilt-point of the 1967 general elections, but he read the trends accurately. His interpretation is Marxist and the Indian case fits snugly into the analytical framework."—*Times Literary Supplement* (London).

50% discount for MR Associates. Enclose payment with order, add sales tax where applicable. (Canadian purchasers paying in Canadian currency, please add 5%.)

Monthly Review Press 33/37 Moreland Street, London, E.C. 1
116 West 14th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10011

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED